



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

DA

890

.G5

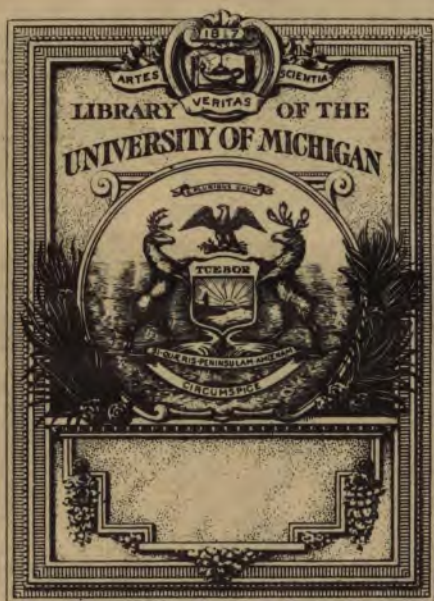
B87



120



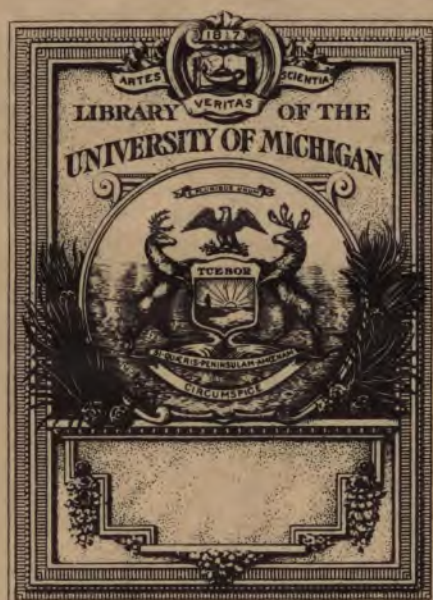
(James Jackson Madachian)
(of Kitchikan)



720



(James Jackson Macdougall)
(of Kitchoway)



1

2

3

4

H I S T O R Y
O F
G L A S G O W;
A N D O F
PAISLEY, GREENOCK,
A N D
PORT-GLASGOW;

COMPREHENDING

The Ecclesiastical and Civil History of these
Places,

From the earliest Accounts to the present Time:

And including

An Account of their Population, Commerce, Manufactures,
Arts, and Agriculture.

By ANDREW BROWN.

*Here, while around, the wave-subjected soil
Impels the native to repeated toil,
Industrious habits in each bosom reign,
And industry begets a love of gain.
Hence all the good from opulence that springs,
With all those ills superfluous treasure brings,
Are here display'd. Their much lov'd wealth imparts
Convenience, plenty, elegance, and arts.*

GOLDSMITH.

G L A S G O W:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM PATON,

AND SOLD BY BRASH & REID, JOHN SMITH, DAVID NIVEN, AND

ROBERT FARIE, BOOKSELLERS;

W. CREECH, AND P. HILL, EDINBURGH;

AND BY G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, LONDON.

M.DCC.XCV.

DA

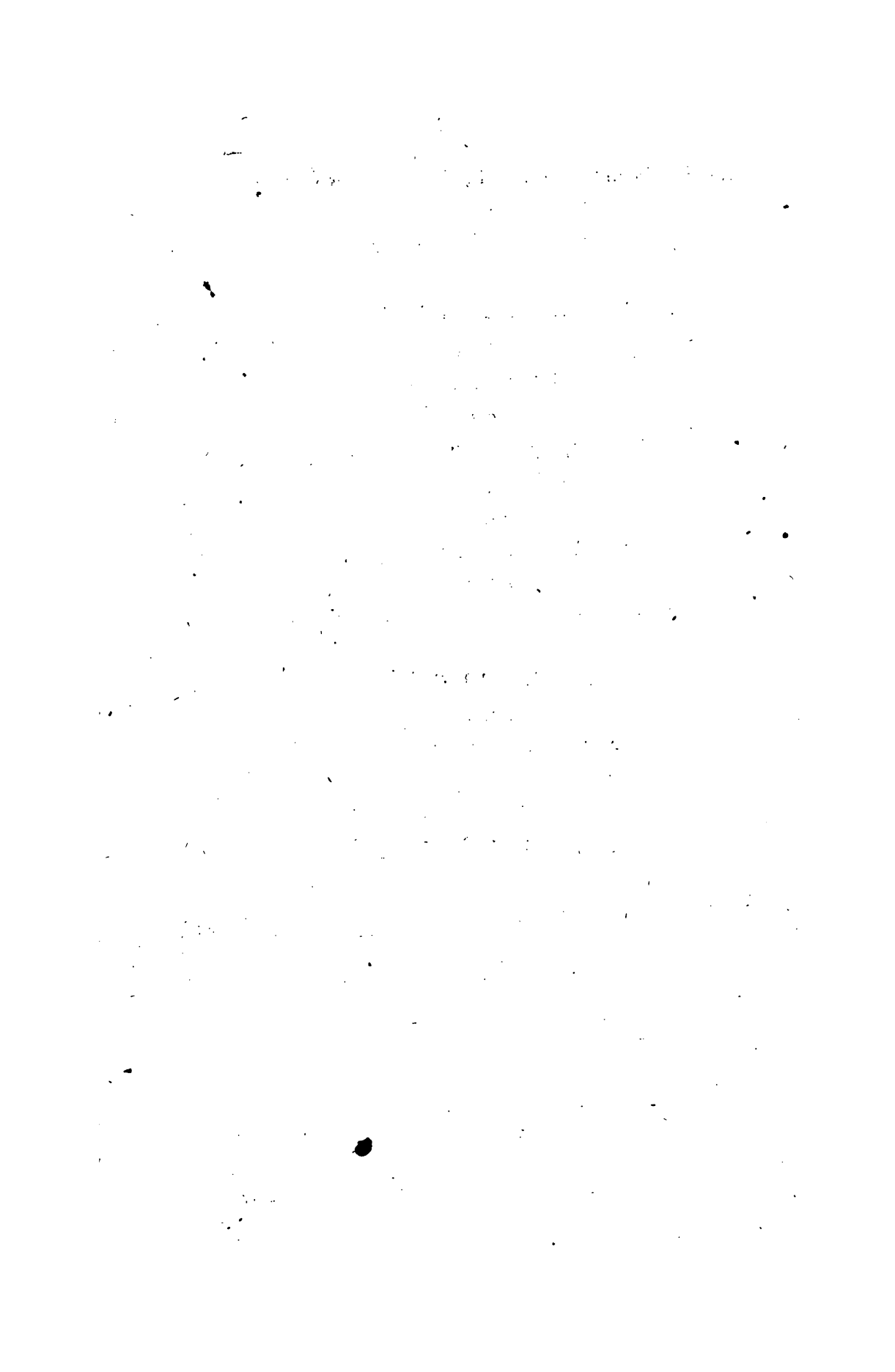
890

.65

B 87

Entered in Stationers Hall.

1171378-190
TO
WILLIAM MACDOWALL, Esq. of GARTHLAND,
FROM
THE RESPECT DUE TO HIM,
AS
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
FOR
THE CITY
OF
GLASGOW;
IN TESTIMONY OF ESTEEM
FOR
HIS ATTENTION TO THE INTERESTS,
AND
HIS EXERTIONS FOR THE PROSPERITY
OF
THE CITY;
AND
AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
FOR
PERSONAL FAVOURS,
THIS WORK
IS
HUMBLY INSCRIBED,
BY
HIS MOST OBEDIENT,
AND
MUCH OBLIGED SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.



THE
HISTORY
OF
GLASGOW.

BOOK I.

Ecclesiastical History of Glasgow, from the earliest accounts, to the period of the Revolution, in 1688.

INTRODUCTION*.

SECT. I.

Of the Heathen or Pagan church.

THE Romans have described the priesthood of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, by the name of Druids; and the religion of Druidism is supposed to have prevailed over the whole island. From the Greeks, and Romans, we have derived the only information

* The materials of this Introduction are extracted, partly from Coote's history of England, and Heron's history of Scotland, but chiefly from the Rev. Lachlan Shaw's history of Moray.

mation which we possess, concerning that religion, and its ministers. The fragments of old Caledonian poetry, which tradition has preserved, are too dark and ambiguous, upon this subject, to afford any clear or certain information. We have, however, the remains of many rude monuments, which, although they have not been described in the Roman accounts of Druidism, cannot be referred to any other thing in the oeconomy of the ancient Caledonians, with the same fair probability as to their religion. It is true, that the Druids, of whom the Romans speak, were found in South Britain, and in Gaul, not in Caledonia: But their accounts seem to imply, that the same superstition was common through all Britain; and the same monuments which are ascribed to Druidism, in South Britain, are also numerous in North Britain.

The word Druid is probably derived from the Greek, *Drus*, an oak, or wood; or from the Celtic, *Deru*, or *Dru*; an oak; because the Druids testified a profound veneration for that tree, or because the deep recesses of the thickest woods were chosen by them for the scenes of their religious solemnities. Mr. Smith, in his *Gaelic Antiquities*, affirms, that they "had their name from the word *Druidh*, which, in their own language, signifies *wise men*, and is still the Gaelic term for natural philosophers, or magicians."

The sect of the Druids, beside the class properly distinguished by that denomination, consisting of their Priests, comprehended also the Vates and Bards. The grand articles of their religion were,

I. To

INTRODUCTION.

I. To worship the Deity.

II. To abstain from all evil. And,

III. To be intrepid.

They enforced the practice of the strictest virtue among men, and were at first held in great veneration for their piety and virtue; but afterward they degenerated, and practised the grossest idolatry and superstition.

They originally maintained the belief of one only eternal and self-existent God, whom they worshipped without images or statues, and to whom they gave the sublime attributes of infinity and immensity: and they believed in the immortality of the soul, and a future state. They afterward corrupted the purity of this doctrine, by admitting into their creed, a number of subordinate deities, whom they fancied to preside over the order of nature, and the concerns of human life; and by teaching the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They made oblations daily, and used purifications. Their oblations may, perhaps, have consisted, at first, of the fruits of the earth; but that simplicity of sacrifice was soon abandoned, and gave way to the horrible practice of offering human victims.

Their stated worship consisted of sacrifices, and oblations. These were performed in groves, or on level ground, upon

which they erected one or more circles of stones, placed in a vertical position. Their places of worship were circular, because dedicated to the sun, the emblem of their deity. The highlanders called them *clachan*, i. e. a collection of stones; and hence a church is called *clachan*.

Their *more solemn* worship was at their high festivals, particularly in the month of March, on May-day, at Mid-summer, and at Hallow-eve. These festivals were celebrated on conspicuous places, where they erected cairns and heaps of stones, on which they kindled fires, and offered sacrifices. In the March solemnity, they gathered and consecrated the mistletoe of the oak. On May-day, they offered sacrifices for the preservation of their cattle. That day was held sacred to *Pan* or *Baal*, and was called, as it still is in the highlands, *La Baal-Tine*, with us, by corruption, *Beltan*. The Mid-summer solemnity was celebrated in honour of *Ceres*, to obtain a blessing on their corns. The Hallow-eve solemnity was kept on the eve of the first of November, as a thanksgiving for the ingathering of the produce of the fields. In all these solemnities they offered sacrifices, and made tours, sun-ways, round their fires, called *Deas-foil*, from *Deas*, the south, and *foil*, the sun, i. e. south-about with the sun.

The Druid priests were formed into a college, under the presidency of a supreme pontiff, or arch-Druid. They were the instructors of youth in the mysteries of religion, and in philosophy and morality. They were also judges in all causes, religious, civil, and criminal: their persons were deemed sacred and inviolable:

violable: they were excused from military service; and they were exempted from taxes and impositions of every kind. Their authority was great, their sentence final; and the contumacious were excommunicated, excluded from all social intercourse, and pronounced profane. The priests administered justice on round green hillocks, many of which may be found over the country. In their dress, and personal appearance, they assumed several marks of distinction. They wore long garments that reached their heels, while the skins or mantles, worn by the generality of the people descended only to the waist or knee. They permitted their beards to grow to a considerable length, contrary to the practice of the laity, from whom they also differed in wearing the hair of the head short. They usually carried in their hands a wand as a badge of the office and authority of judge, and had an amulet of an oval form about their necks, called indifferently the serpent's or druid's egg, encased in gold. That egg was, according to Pliny, about the size of a moderate apple, and its shell was a cartilaginous incrustation full of small cavities. The Druids pretended that it was formed from the interweaving of several serpents, and attributed great virtues to it, both as an amulet and a medicine.

The *Vates* are supposed by some, to have been next to the priests, but according to others they were the lowest class of the order. It is generally believed, that they assisted in the performance of the sacrifices, and in the rites of divination; that they were also physicians, and that they endeavoured to explain the sublimest properties of nature.

The *Bards* were historians, chronologists, genealogists, musicians, and poets. The word Bard in Celtic, signifies a poet and orator. As the mysteries and philosophy of the Druids were not committed to writing, the Bards turned those into rhymes, which they repeated on proper occasions. When armies were to engage, the Bard stood on some eminence, and harangued them to rouse their courage. They presided in their music; acted a part at festivals; recited genealogies at marriages and funerals; and sung the praises of their heroes. But how honourable soever this order might have been at first, they afterwards became ignorant, venal, and despicable buffoons.

There were likewise female Druids or priestesses, who might perform some ceremonies of their religion to women, in which it might not be decent to have men employed. As all Druids frequented the groves, these priestesses were probably the *Dryades* and *Hamadryades*, "The nymphs of the groves" celebrated by the poets. They might also have given rise to the fancy that prevails among the ignorant, that fairy women, or beautiful young girls, clad in green, with loose dishevelled hair, frequented the woods and valleys.

The druids seem to have had among them some recluses and hermits. In the isles and other places, there are many small cells of stone of a round figure, and each cell capable of accommodating one single person, called *Ti na druididhe*, i. e. "The druid's house."

Many

INTRODUCTION.

11

Many of the customs observed by the druids are mentioned by historians. Some superstitious ceremonies still practised by the people of this country, particularly in the Highlands, appear to be of druidical origin. Of these we shall only notice the following.

When a contagious disease enters among cattle, the fire is extinguished in some villages round : Then they force fire with a wheel, or by rubbing one piece of dry wood upon another, and therewith burn juniper in the stalls of the cattle, that the smoke may purify the air about them : They likewise boil juniper in water, which they sprinkle upon the cattle. This done, the fires in the houses are rekindled from the forced fire.

They narrowly observe the changes of the moon, and will not go upon any expedition of importance, or fell wood, or cut turf, &c. but at certain periods of the revolution of that planet. So the druids avoided, if possible, to fight, till after the full moon.

At burials they retain many heathenish practices ; such as music, and dancing at late-wakes, when the nearest relations of the deceased dance first. At burials mourning women chant the coronach, or mournful extemporary rhymes, reciting the valorous deeds, expert hunting, and other qualities of the deceased. When the corpse is lifted, the bed-straw, on which the deceased lay, is carried out and burnt in a place where no beast can come near it ; and they pretend to find next morning, in the ashes, the print of the foot of that person in the family, who shall first die.

They believe that the material world will be destroyed by fire. So general is this persuasion, that when the Highlanders express the end of time, they say *Gu Braith*, i. e. "To the conflagration or destruction."

The use which the druids made of juniper, and their regard to the changes of the moon, shew that they were no strangers to the virtues of plants and the influence of the celestial bodies.

Throughout this kingdom, many places have their names, and some persons their surnames, from the druid Bards, Carns, &c. as Baird, Cairnie, Monibhard, Tullibardin, Carn-wath, Carn-crofs, &c.

The druidical doctrines had a near resemblance to the tenets of the Persian Magi, the Indian Bramins, the Chaldeans, and other ancient oriental sects. The religion of the magi, as well as the druids, seems to have been borrowed from the patriarchs and Jews, in the following and some other particulars. They owned one Supreme Being, worshipped without images or statues, and used sacrifices and sacred fire. Their religious ceremonies were performed, at first, *sub dio*, in high places, or under spreading oaks, but afterward in temples. They compassed their altars by going *Deas-soil* round them, had many ablutions and purgations, and had mourning women at funerals. The priests were the instructors of youth, had their academies and schools in retired high places, and had a rod of office. This druidism was the religion of the Scots and Picts, as it was of
the

the Gauls and Britains, before the light of the gospel of Christ was made to shine among them.

S E C T. II.

Of the Primitive Christian Church.

AT what particular time Christianity was first made known in Scotland, cannot be easily determined. It is not improbable however, that it had sure footing in North Britain, in the third, and fourth centuries. But, as pagan druidism could not have been at once extirpated, so, the Christian faith must have been gradually spread. The gross ignorance, which, till of late, prevailed, and the many heathenish customs that remain in some parts of the kingdom, shew that the knowledge of Christianity advanced very slowly.

The first teachers, and ministers of the Christian faith, in Scotland, were presbyters, or preaching elders, called in the Scottish language, *Keledees*; a word compounded of *Keile*, i. e. "a servant, or one devoted," and *Dia*, (in the genitive *De*,) i. e. God, a servant of, or one devoted to God. A church, or place of worship was called *Kil*, because set apart for divine service. Some derive *Kil* from *Cella*, the *Hut*, or "House of the Teacher."

These Keledees, and primitive Christians in Scotland, were men of great piety; and, for many ages, preserved the doctrines of religion, pure, and unmixed with any Romish leaven. They did not consider Rome as their mother church; for it was with
great

great struggle, and not till the year 715, that the Scots submitted to the Romish innovations, as to Pasch, the Tonsure, &c. Possibly it was from the clerical tonsure, that the word Maol, came to be prefixed to some names. The word signifies "a servant," and also bare, bald: So Maol-Coluim, is, "Columba the servant, or the shaveling;" Maol-Riogh, "Regulus, the servant or the shaveling." The Irish likewise prefix the word Maith, i. e. "Good;" as Maith Rechard, Maith Calen, is the same as "St. Richard, St. Colen."

These things may serve to explain the names of several churches and chapels in this country, such as, Kil-Tarlatie, Kil-Chuiman, Maith-Rechard, Maith-Calén, in the province of Moray—Killallan, in Renfrewshire, corrupted from Kil-fillan, (Cella Fillani,) the church of St. Fillan (*a*)—Kilrennie, in Fifeshire, the church of St. Irenaeus (*b*), Kilmuir, in the island of Sky, or rather Kil-Mhuir, i. e. the church dedicated to Mary (*c*)—Kildonan, in the county of Sutherland, the church of St. Donnan (*d*), &c. Kil is said by some, to signify a burying-place or tomb (*e*); but this is, probably, a more recent signification, taken from the common practice of burying near cells or churches.

S E C T. III.

Of the Romish church.

THE church of Rome introduced, by slow degrees, her innovations

(*a*) Sir J. Sinclair's Statistical account of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 315.

(*b*) Do. V. I. p. 409. (*c*) Do. V. II. p. 547. (*d*) Do. V. III. p. 403.

(*e*) Do. IV. p. 202.

vations and corruptions into Scotland. A few of her superstitious customs were adopted in the eighth century.

It has been said, that, before the eleventh century, we had no diocesan bishops; and that, although we had one bishop, viz. of St. Andrews, he was not properly diocesan; for he was designed *Episcopus Scotiae*, or *Scotorum*. In the same century, Romish monks and friars were brought in, as a militia, or an army, to support the Romish bishops, by rooting out the ancient *Keledees*, and propagating the poison of popery. It was not before the twelfth century, and the reign of king David I. that the Popish clergy, and doctrines, obtained a firm establishment.

The Romish clergy are divided into regular and secular; and these are again subdivided.

I. THE REGULAR CLERGY.

These were so called, because they were bound to live according to the rule of St. Augustine, or St. Bennet, or to some private statutes approved by the pope. The members of each fraternity lived, messed, and slept under one roof. There are several distinct societies of the regular clergy.

1st, *An Abbey*. This is a society of monks, or friars, whereof the *Abbot* (in Heb. *Ab* or *Abba*, "*Father*,") is the head or ruler. Some abbots were independent of the bishop, and freed from his jurisdiction: these were called *Abbates exempti*. Some were invested

vested with episcopal power, wore a mitre, were called "*sovereign mitred abbots*," and had a seat in parliament. The *Abbat**es exempti* might discipline and punish their monks; but abbots subject to the bishop, were obliged to submit them to his authority.

Upon the dissolution of the religious houses, the King, in order to preserve the votes of abbots and priors in parliament, presented laymen to the benefices when vacant, who, by way of *commendam*, enjoyed the profits, and sat in parliament. But this usufructuary possession, as titulars, gave no right to the lands; and therefore they got them erected into temporary lordships.

2d, *Priories*. At first, the prior was but the ruler of the abbey, under the abbot, who was *primus* in the monastery; and the prior was no dignitary: but afterward a mother-abbey, detaching a party of its monks, and obtaining a settlement for them in some other place, they became a separate convent. A prior was set over them; and their house was called *cella grangia*, or *obedientia*, denoting, that they depended on a superior monastery. This was called a conventual prior, and was a dignitary; but a prior in the abbey was only a claustral prior. In general, the priory lands were erected into a regality, of which the prior was lord.

3d, *Convents, of Monks, Friars, and Nuns*. The monks and friars differed in this respect, that the former were seldom allowed to go out of their cloisters; but the friars, who were generally predicants, or mendicants, travelled about, and preached in the neighbourhood. Monks, at first, lived by their industry,
and

and by private alms, and came to the parish church. But a recluse life was not so serviceable to the Romish church; and therefore friars were under little confinement. Every monk or friar used the tonsure, or shaved crown; an emblem, they said, of their hope of a crown of glory. They vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience, besides the rules of their respective orders.

The *Dominicans*, called *Black-friars*, because they wore a black cross on a white gown, were instituted by Dominic, a Spaniard, who invented the inquisition, were approved by the pope, anno 1215, and brought into Scotland by bishop Malvoisin*. These, with the Franciscan Grey-friars and Carmelite White friars, were mendicants, allowed to preach abroad, and beg their subsistence. The Dominicans, notwithstanding their professed poverty, had fifteen rich convents in Scotland.

The Franciscans, called Grey-friars, wore a grey gown and eowl, a rope about their middle, and went about with pokes to beg. St. Francis, an Italian, established them, anno 1206.

The *Grey-fifters*, or *nuns of Sienna in Italy*, wore a grey gown, and a rotchet, followed St. Austin's rule, and were never to go forth of their cloisters after they had made their vows.

There were several convents of these three orders in Scotland, besides preceptories, ministries, and chaplainries.

c

II. THE

* William Malvoisin, bishop of Glasgow, anno 1200. In 1202, translated to St. Andrews, which see he appears to have filled until the year 1233.

II. THE SECULAR CLERGY.

These were the parish ministers, and lived in the world abroad, without being shut up in convents and cloisters, as the regulars were. The secular clergy consisted of the bishops and their inferiors.

Colleges, or incorporated societies, having particular rules or canons for their government, were annexed sometimes to cathedrals, and sometimes to ordinary churches. In the former case, the bishop was the ruler. In the latter, they were called *collegiate churches*, and the head or ruler was called *provost* or *dean*. These colleges were instituted for performing divine service, and singing masses for the souls of their founders, or their friends. They consisted of canons, or prebendaries, who had their stalls for orderly singing the canonical hours, and were commonly erected out of parish churches, or out of the chaplainries belonging to churches.

Canons, or *chanons secular*, so called, (to distinguish them from the regulars in convents,) were ministers, or parsons within the dioceses, chosen by the bishop, to be members of his chapter or council, lived within the college, performed divine service in the cathedral, and sung in the choir, according to rules or canons made by the chapter. *Prebendaries* had each a *prebendum*, or portion of land, allotted to him for his service. Canons, and prebendaries, differed chiefly in this, that the canon had his *canonica* or portion, merely for his being received, although he did not
serve

INTRODUCTION.

19

serve in the church; but the prebendary had his *prebendum*, only when he served.

Every canonry had a *vicarage* annexed to it, for the better subsistence of the canon, who had the great tithes of both parishes, and generally was the patron of the annexed vicarage.

The *dignified clergy* were five in number, viz.

The *dean*, who presided in the chapter, synods, &c. in the bishop's absence.

The *archdeacon*, who visited the diocese, examined candidates for orders, gave collation, &c. and was the bishop's vicar.

The *chanter*, who regulated the music, and, when present, presided in the choir.

The *chancellor*, who was the judge of the bishop's court, the secretary of the chapter, and the keeper of their seal. And

The *treasurer*, who had the charge of the common revenues of the diocese.

All these had rich livings, and deputies to officiate for them; and, with the addition of some canons, and prebendaries, chosen by the bishop, constituted the bishop's privy council, or chapter capitulum, (the little head of the diocese,) the bishop being the head. They advised and assisted the bishop; signed with him

all public acts and deeds: and, in a vacancy, elected for bishop, whom the king recommended by his *conge d'elire*.

The *inferior clergy* were *parsons, vicars, ministers of mensal churches, and of common churches, and chaplains*.

Parsons were those who had right to the tithes, and were the ministers and rectors of parishes.

Vicars served the cure, *vice*, or in place of the rector. To augment the revenues of the bishop, the other dignified clergy, and the canons, parish churches were annexed to the churches in which these served, and they were the rectors or parsons of such annexed churches.—They had right to the tithes, and they sent vicars to serve the cure, to whom an allowance was made of a portion of the tithes, as a stipend. Hence they were called *stipendiarii*. At first, vicars were only employed during pleasure, and were called “*simple vicars*,” but the avarice of the parsons made the cure to be much neglected in this way; wherefore vicars were afterward settled for life, and called “*perpetual vicars*.” They generally had the small tithes allowed them. The parsons, who had vicarages depending upon them, claimed the patronage of them. Hence, after the reformation, the patron of the patronage acted as patron of the vicarage.

Mensal churches, were such as were *de mensa episcopi*, for furnishing the table of the bishop. He was parson, and titular, and employed a vicar, or *stipendiary*, to serve the cure.

Common

Common churches were so called, because the tithes of them were the common good, or for the public, and common exigencies of the dioceses.

Chaplains were those clergy who officiated in chapels. These chapels were of different kinds. In parishes of great extent, chapels of ease were erected, in distant corners, for conveniency, and the rector of the parish maintained a curate there, to read prayers, and sing mass. Some chapels were called Free Chapels, which were not dependent on any parish, but had proper endowments for their own ministers, whose charge was called a Chaplainry.

Besides these, there were domestic chapels, or oratories, built near the residence of great men, in which the domestic chaplain or priest officiated. And, almost in every parish, there were private chapels, built by individuals, that mass might be celebrated for the souls of themselves, or their friends. A small salary was mortified for that end, and usually granted to the priest of the parish.

The office of saying mass in such chapels, was called chantry, or chanting masses. The salary for the priests officiating, or saying mass at an altar, was called altarage. The service performed for the dead, how soon they expired, was the *obit*, and the register of the dead was called *obituary*. In the first antiphone of the obit are the words *dirge nos domine*; and hence came the

dirge.

dirge. These, and the like, were shifts to increase the revenue of the clergy.

The government of the dioceses, both clergy and laity, was vested in the bishop, as the only prince or governor, in whom alone the power of jurisdiction was lodged. For his conveniency, he had officers, and courts ecclesiastic, civil, and criminal. These courts were five in number.

The *chapter* was the principal. The legislative power was lodged in this court, or rather in the bishop, who, with advice of the chapter, made laws, canons, and regulations for the dioceses; erected, annexed, or disjoined parishes; purchased, sold, or let in tack, church lands, and tithes, &c.

Diocesan synods were called at the pleasure of the bishop, who, or the dean in his absence was president. Cases of discipline, and appeals from deanries were cognosed in these synodical meetings; and from them the Protestant church took the plan of provincial synods.

The diocese was divided into *deanries*, which seem to have been, in some respects, what presbyteries are now, and to have been the model on which the presbyteries were formed.

The *consistorial court* was held in the bishop's name, by his official. It judged in all matters of tithes, marriages, divorces, widows, orphans, minors, testaments, mortifications, &c. This court granted dispensations, allowing marriages betwixt persons

persons within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity; which, being purchased, brought an immense revenue to the bishop. The bishop also seized on the effects of those who died intestate, to the exclusion of the widow, children, relations, and even creditors; under pretence of applying them, for promoting the good of the soul of the deceased. The consistorial court is now succeeded by the commissariat court.

The *court of Regality* likewise added to the bishop's revenue.

The chief revenues of the clergy were derived from the tithes, from the church lands mortified to them by the crown, and from private mortifications*, and donations. Such were the power and riches of the clergy, that bishops, abbots, and priors, made fifty-three votes in parliament; and in all public impositions they paid one half of the taxation.

The lands and revenues of the church have been gifted by the crown, since the reformation, to the nobility and gentry, and to the universities.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Protestant Church.

THE gross corruption of doctrine, the extreme indolence, the dissolute manners, and the barbarous cruelty of the Romish clergy in this kingdom, concurred to bring about the reformation of religion, which was established by parliament, anno 1560. From that time, the Romish regular clergy were suppressed, and the secular had no legal establishment.

* Legacies or bequests for pious purposes.

The ecclesiastical history may now be divided into several periods, agreeably to the changes that happened, as presbytery or prelacy, alternately prevailed in the government of the church.

1st. From 1560, to 1572, presbytery was the form of the church government. Until the government should be deliberately settled, a few superintendants were appointed. These, however, could not, with any propriety, be called bishops. They had no episcopal consecration and they were accountable to the general assembly. When presbyteries were appointed, their office ceased.

General assemblies began to be kept in 1566, and were continued annually. How soon provincial assemblies were kept, it is not so easy to determine. The general assembly, in 1568, appointed that the members should be elected in the synod, from which it is probable, that synods were generally erected at that time. There were no presbyteries, such as they are now, within this period. But there were meetings for exercise very early. Congregational sessions were held from the beginning of the reformation, and exercised government and discipline.

2d, From 1572, to 1592, a sort of episcopacy obtained in the church. When the earl of Morton became regent, the popish bishops, who were allowed two thirds of the revenue during life, were generally dead. Morton had therefore an opportunity of gratifying his insatiable avarice. He obtained a grant of the temporalities of the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, and other noble-
men

men were aiming at the like grants. They could not hope to enjoy these revenues directly with any colour of law: and therefore Morton got it agreed, in a meeting of some ambitious men of the clergy, and privy council, "that the name and office of archbishop, and bishop, should be continued, during the king's minority, but subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the assembly." These bishops, introduced anno 1572, were, by way of ridicule, but justly, called *Tulchan bishops*. A *tulchan* is the skin of a dead calf, stretched on a frame of wood, and laid under a cow, to make her give milk. These bishops had the name, that by a private agreement, and the allowance of a small benefice, the dioceses might yield their *milk*, or revenues to the nobility.

The duke D'Aubigne introduced one of these *tulchan* bishops to the see of Glasgow, anno 1581, but, the simoniacal bargain, made betwixt them, becoming public, the new bishop was opposed by the assembly, and presbytery. This produced an outrage, which the reader will find detailed in the second chapter of this book.

The regent Morton further gratified his avarice, at the expence of the clergy. In the year 1561, a part of the thirds of the ecclesiastical benefices was allowed to the protestant clergy, for their subsistence, but this, in time, was very ill paid. Morton got the clergy to resign the thirds in his favour, and he promised duly to pay their stipendiary allowance; but he assigned three or four churches to one minister, with the stipend of only one church, and applied the rest to his own use.

The

The *tulchan* bishops had possession of the episcopal palaces; had their chapters and their consistorial, and regality jurisdictions; but they were only nominal bishops. They were consecrated by presbyters, and were subject to, and deposed by the assemblies. The government of the church was truly presbyterian, by assemblies, and synods. In 1581, the assembly declared the office of bishop, as then exercised, to have no foundation in the word of God; and presbyteries were erected throughout the kingdom. Notwithstanding this, the titular bishops continued till the year 1592.

3d, From 1592, till 1610, the church government was strictly presbyterian. The *tulchan* bishops having titles of honour, a seat in parliament, and revenues greater than the other clergymen, had neglected their spiritual employments, were despised and considered as profane; yet James VI. would gladly have continued them, as they were slavishly devoted to his will. Presbytery, however, was established, in the most ample manner, by an act of parliament, anno 1592, and the church was divided into synods and presbyteries.

The king, on the other hand, wishing to restore the power of bishops, as a balance to the nobles in parliament, prevailed, by promises, and threats, with a majority of the clergy, to agree in the year 1597, and 1598, that some ministers should represent the church in parliament. After that, constant moderators were established in presbyteries. Upon his accession to the throne of England, he restored the temporalities of bishops, by an act of parliament, July 9th, 1606, and granted them a seat in parliament,

ment. By bribing, banishing, intimidating, and imprisoning ministers, presbytery was overturned; and episcopacy was established, by the general assembly, at *Glasgow*, in the year 1610. In the general assembly, held at Linlithgow, anno 1606, the earl of Dunbar distributed among the most needy and clamorous of the ministers, 40,000 merks, to facilitate the work, and obtain their suffrages. And, anno 1616, after the assembly was up, the earl of Dunbar paid 5000 l. Scots to the moderators of presbyteries, for bygone service." *Sir James Balfour's M. S. Annals*, Vol. I.

4th, From 1610, to 1638, the government of the church was episcopal. During the life of James VI. the subordination of judicatories was kept up, and the bishops, afraid of general assemblies, kept within the bounds of moderation. When Charles mounted the throne, synods and presbyteries were continued, but assemblies were laid aside. The bishops, having no controul, became so odious, that all ranks exclaimed against them; and the king, finding it necessary to call a general assembly, at *Glasgow*, anno 1638, episcopacy was, at that assembly, condemned, and abolished.

5th, From 1638, to 1662, the presbyterian government was exercised in the fullest vigour. The king, by the necessity of his affairs, was made to ratify this change of government, in parliament, anno 1641. Although the clergy had complained, that the king, and bishops, wished to impose the English liturgy upon the church of Scotland; they, themselves, now wished, by the

covenant

covenant, to impose the government and worship of the church of Scotland, upon the churches of England and Ireland.

General assemblies were annually kept until 1653. The assembly, that year, was dispersed, as narrated in chap. 5th of this book. From this time, there was no assembly till 1690.

6th, From 1662, to 1690, episcopacy was the form of government. The bishops were restored by the prerogative royal, and confirmed, in parliament, anno 1662. No general assembly was called during this period; but synods and presbyteries were allowed to meet, though under the name of Diocesan assemblies. The restoration of episcopacy was followed by a train of persecution and severities, almost unparalleled, against those who had complied with the usurpation, and against non-conformists. When James laid aside the mask, and shewed his design of introducing popery, the English bishops, and clergy, made a firm stand for the protestant religion, and heartily joined in maintaining it. But the Scots bishops were abject flatterers of the king, and seemed to wish for popery and slavery.

7th, From 1690, to the present time, presbytery has been established. In the year 1690, the presbyterian government was restored; and, that year, the general assembly met for the first time since 1653. The episcopal ministers generally conformed to the government, and were allowed to keep their churches, and benefices, during life.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
GLASGOW.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The history of the bishoprick from the earliest accounts to the Reformation.

IN the nether-ward of Clydesdale and shire of Lanark, on the banks of the Clyde, stands the city of Glasgow, situated in $55^{\circ}. 51'. 32''$. N. Latitude, and $4. 15'$. Longitude W. of Greenwich. GLASGOW, we are told by some, is a *Gaelic* word, signifying *Grey smith*; and got its name from a person of that profession, who had his residence on or near the place where the bishop's castle afterward stood: Others say GLASCOW, in that language, signifies the *Grey-bound ferry*. GLASGOW, we are also told, signifies the *dark-glen*; and alludes to the glen at the east end of the church, where St. Kentigern's cell stood.

The city, with the suburbs, viz. Gorbals, Calton, Bridgetown, Brownfield, and Anderston, stands on upwards of six hundred acres of ground ; and, when viewed from the south, between Rutherglen bridge and Finniestown, forms the appearance of a half moon or crescent.

Under the Romans, the place where Glasgow now stands was included in the province of Valentia, erected by Theodosius anno 370, which was not deserted by them until the year 426, when they took their final leave of this island.

St. Mungo or Kentigern, founded the see of Glasgow in the year 560. He died 13th January 601, and was buried in the east end of the ground on which the church now stands, and where his tomb is still to be seen. * Baldrède, his disciple, was his successor, and founded a religious house at Inchinnan. From this time there is no account of the bishops of Glasgow, until the year 1115, when David, prince of Cumberland, re-founded the see, and succeeded his brother Alexander to the crown of Scotland in 1124. He promoted his preceptor and chaplain, John Achaius, to the bishoprick in the

* Vide Description of the High Church of Glasgow.

the year 1129; who, having built and adorned a part of the cathedral church, solemnly consecrated it on the 9th July 1133. The king was present, and gave to the church the lands of Pardyke, now Partick. John governed the see 18 years, and died 28th May 1147, and was buried at Jedburgh. Herbert and Ingleram Newbigging lived and died before

1174, Joceline, who made an addition to the church, and dedicated it 4th July 1197. Nothing is recorded of four of his successors till

1232 William Boddington, lord chancellor. He built the present church, as it now stands, which was finished in 1253. He died 10th Nov. 1258.

1274 Robert Wishart was one of the regency on the death of Alexander III, and had the happiness of living to see Robert Bruce seated on the throne, to which he had greatly contributed. He died in 1316.

This worthy prelate was long a prisoner in England, where he suffered a rigorous confinement, in daily expectation of being put to death by his implacable conqueror Edward I. who, in the meantime, had filled the see of Glasgow, of his own authority, with one of his

creatures in priest's orders, called Anthony Beik. At the same time, earl Percy seems to have had the government of this western district, and his residence principally at Glasgow, with the English bishop; where, it is presumed, he might find himself as well lodged, as with any of the nobility of the country. Sir William Wallace, being in possession of the town of Ayr, left the town and fortrefs to the care of the townsmen; and, being joined by the Laird of Auchinleck, and his uncle, Adam Wallace of Richardtown, and Boyd, they *borrowed English horses after it was dark*, forming a squadron of three hundred cavalry. They left Ayr at 10 o'clock P. M. and arrived at Glasgow at 9 o'clock next morning, and having crossed the bridge, which was then of wood, drew up their men (where the Bridgegate is now built) in two columns, one under the command of his uncle and the laird of Auchinleck who knew the road, by St. Mungo's lane, to the north east quarter of Drygate, to attack the lord Percy in flank; while the main body, commanded by Sir William Wallace and Boyd, marched up the High-street to meet earl Percy and his army, which consisted of a thousand men in armour. The scene of action seems to have been between the Bell of the Brae, and where the College now stands. Adam Wallace and Auchinleck, with 140 men, who had made a running march round the east side of the town, when the

the battle was doubtful came rushing in, from the road where the Drygate now stands, upon the English column and divided it in two. At the same instant, on hearing the shout of his friends, Sir William stepped into the front, and, with one stroke of his long sword, cleft Percy's head in two. The route of the English now became general. The gallant, Aymer Vallance led off bishop Beik, and four hundred of their men, by the Rottenrow port, being all that remained of the thousand men in armour brought out to oppose Wallace, at the head of three hundred cavalry. He however availed himself of his situation: In what might be then termed a street, Percy could not bring his men to act upon this small squadron. Notwithstanding of this victory, obtained by stratagem, surprise, and valour, it was not safe for Wallace and his followers to stay here, nor yet in the old Druidical groves about the Blackfriar's church, nor in the forest beyond the Molendinar burn. They marched straight to Bothwel, where they arrived at 1 o'clock P. M. having performed a march of 36 miles in 11 hours, fought a battle, with three to one of the men of Northumberland, the best soldiers in England, gained a victory, and marched ten miles to safe quarters at Bothwel, in fifteen hours. It was Aymer Vallance that planned and conducted the captivity of Wallace. It was in this forest the tryst was set by Sir John Monteath, for his capture

capture, which was brought to bear at Robroystown. The word, at the battle of Glasgow, was *Bear up the Bishop's tail*, spoken jeeringly by Sir William to his uncle, when their men were drawn up at the end of the bridge. He refused the office until once he was consecrated, a ceremony that Edward could never obtain from the pope, who supported the independency of the Caledonian church from the usurpation of the see of York; and it was the fear of his thunder, from the Vatican, that saved the bishop's life, during his long and rigorous captivity in England.

1336 William Rae governed this see 31 years, he built the stone bridge over Clyde. It was formerly of timber. Lady Lochhow built the middle arch.

1387 Matthew Glendinning. In this prelate's time the spire of the church, which had been built of wood, and covered with lead, was burnt by lightning.

1400 William Lawder, made chancellor in 1423. This prelate re-built the steeple, of stone, and did many other public works.

1426 John Cameron, secretary of state, built the great tower of the Episcopal palace; carried on the buildings

buildings of the vestry; and caused the prebends to build houses in the town, he died 1446.

1448 William Turnbull, secretary of state, and keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord of Provan. He founded the University, in the year 1452. This worthy prelate went to Rome, where he died 1454.

1455 Andrew Muirhead founded, near his palace, an hospital dedicated to St. Nicholas, and ordained it for the maintenance of twelve old men and a priest, the hall and chapel are now so ruinous that they are occupied as a cow-house. The funds were lost at the reformation.

1484 Robert Blackadder was the first Archbishop. He laid out great sums on the church and altars. The great aisle, to the south, he carried up to its present height. It is appropriated for the burying place of strangers of distinction, and the city clergy.

1508 James Beaton enclosed the Episcopal palace with a magnificent wall of ashlar work, with a bastion and tower at a proper distance. After the fatal field of Flowden, Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII. of England, and queen dowager of the Illustrious James the

IV. of Scotland, was, by the election of the barons, appointed regent so long as she lived a single life. In a short time, however, the powers of love preponderated over sovereignty. She married the earl of Angus, at that time the head of the house of Douglas, whose alliances and power were equal to one half of the nobility of Scotland : and, when courts of justice *eyre* were held, a *Douglas* was seldom found in the *wrong*. Together with his own power, this royal alliance brought the queen dowager and the prince, yet a child, into his power. To repress and over-balance the avarice and ambition of this over-grown house, the Humes, and a faction attached to them, brought over from France John duke of Albany, cousin german to James IV. and nearest in blood to the crown of Scotland. This prince had received a liberal education at the Court of France. By the friendship and aid of Charles VII. he came over with such a force, and ammunition as was thought equal to enforce the laws of the country, on the powerful chieftains ; particularly on the borders. In their country, at this time, they knew no law but the sword, the regent made a circuit into these parts. He was accompanied by Angus, and found room to punish every offender, provided they were not of the name of *Douglas*. Upon this, he reports his own situation, as well as that of this distracted kingdom, to the king of France ;

France; craving a supply of guns, powder, and ball, equal to the task of bringing that powerful house in obedience to the sovereign, and laws of the country. Meantime, Angus and his faction, apprised of his intentions, convened a council, where many of the lords, with their followers, assembled, to the number of twelve thousand men, viz. the earl of Angus, the lord Hume, the earl of Arran, with the whole lords of the west land, except the earl of Lenox, and lord Erskine, who then remained with the King at Stirling, says my Author, *Lindsay of Pitscottie*. “The lords, being convened at Glasgow, “heard tell, that there were three French ships landed “at the west sea, with men, money, and artillery, “come to the duke of Albany.—Therefore they sent “a thousand men to the said ships, to stop their landing; but they were landed ere they came, but yet they “got some of their carts, with powder and bullet, and, “for despite, cast them in a great draw-well in Glasgow. “Thir tidings came to the governor, that the lords “had rise against him, and destroyed his powder and “bullets. He was heavily commoved at the same, and “vowed singularly to God, he should be revenged on “their contemption done to him, or, at the least, them “that were the occasion of the same, and passed hastily “forward to Glasgow, intending to cause them leave “the town, or to fight with them, and put them out of

“Glasgow; or then to die in that quarrel. At this
“time bishop Andrew Foreman, the pope’s legate in
“Scotland, held the most profitable benefices in
“the church, viz. the primacy, and abbacy of Ar-
“broath,” &c. &c. a man as singularly indebted to na-
ture for shining abilities, as unfortunate in his being
cramped with a narrow education: It was this singular
character, the first politician in his age, when on his
journey to Rome for consecration to the bishoprick of
Murray, who had the address to conciliate a peace be-
tween his holiness and the king of France, who were
then at war. After this he had the honour of giving an
entertainment to the pope, in one of his own palaces, to
which the cardinals, &c. were invited; “and, accord-
“ing to custom, the entertainer, though no great scho-
“lar, began the grace; and, having no good Latin, be-
“gan in the Scotch accent *Benedicite*, believing they
“would have answered *Dominus*; but they answered
“*Dans* in the Italian fashion, which put this noble bi-
“shop, by his intendment, that he wished not how to
“proceed forward; but happened to break out in good
“Scots, in this manner, the which they understood not,
“saying—*The Devil—I give to all false Carles, in nomine*
“*Patris, et Spiritus sanctus*. Amen, quoth they. Then
“the Bishop and his men leugh; and, the matter and
“manner of the grace being explained to the pope, the
“blunder

“ blunder and address of our unlettered bishop became
“ a motive with his holiness, to carry this favourite of for-
“ tune to higher promotion. He, as we said before, hear-
“ ing of the convention at Glasgow, and the resolution
“ taken by the duke of Albany, spurred hastily to Glas-
“ gow, to see if he might dress the lords to obey their
“ magistrates, as they ought ; and reasoned with them,
“ in a long speech, becoming the tongue of a Roman
“ senator, with such effect, that the lords, hearing his
“ words, consulted together, and promised to leave the
“ town, at the governor’s coming, upon their conditions
“ following: That is to say, that the governor’s grace
“ shall remit all things bye-gone, and receive them, in
“ time coming, as good subjects to the king’s grace
“ and him, and never call them for nothing bye-past.”

The which the bishop promised in the governor’s
name, that it should be kept to them. “ Then they left
“ the town and passed, that the governor might have
“ free entrance thereunto, who lodged there that night ;
“ and, on the morn, past to Stirling, syne went to Edin-
“ burgh, and there remained until all the lords came
“ and made their obedience, except the earl of Angus,
“ who had stolen quietly out of his lodgings at Glasgow,
“ to some ships that conveyed him to France, where he
“ remained quietly a season without company of any
“ Scotfman ; or scantily any knowing what part of the

“ world he was in. Short while after this, the queen
“ of Scotland got word that her husband, the earl of
“ Angus, was come to England. At this she rejoiced,
“ for she was great with-child by him; yet notwithstanding,
“ for the love she bare to him, and desire to speak
“ with the king of England, her brother; she, setting all
“ danger and peril aside, left her young son, the king’s
“ grace of Scotland, in the castle of Stirling, in the
“ keeping of the captain, and his guards about him,
“ and took her voyage, and passed into London, to king
“ Henry, her brother, where she was honourably receiv-
“ ed and tenderly treated. She remained there at her
“ pleasure, and got all things of her brother Harry, that
“ she could desire; but, short time after she came there,
“ she was delivered of a daughter, named lady Marga-
“ ret, who remained in England, well entertained, in-
“ tending to come to the crown by her own succession.
“ This done, queen Margaret returned to Scotland with
“ her husband, the earl of Angus, in peace made up by
“ Harry the VIII.” Lady Margaret, the next heir to
the crown of England, failing issue in her uncle, was
afterwards married to the earl of Lenox, the nearest
blood to the crown of Scotland; when he was an exile
in England. By this marriage they had the beautiful
Henry Darnley, afterwards duke of Rothsay, husband
of the amiable, accomplished, but unfortunate Mary,
queen

queen of Scots, the mother of James the VI. of Scotland and I. of England. The tree of this house, branched with most of the crowned heads in Europe at this day, must be our apology for being so particular in our story of the draw-well at Glasgow.

1522. Gavin Dunbar, tutor to James V. and lord chancellor, built a stately gate-house at the episcopal palace, on which his arms were engraved. It was in his time the reformation began, and this worthy prelate was much blamed for lending his authority to the bigots of the times, in the case of Jerom Ruffel the friar, and the young man of Ayr, who were burnt at the east end of the cathedral. Their martyrdom sowed the seeds of the reformation in the west.

1551. James Beaton (nephew to cardinal Beaton), in whose time the reformation took place, called in his tenants and vassals for a considerable time, to guard the church and palace from the depredations of the interested reformers of the city, and neighbourhood. Meantime he carefully packed up every thing valuable, belonging to the see, that was moveable, which he carried along with him into France. Being of the name, and related to Maximilian, de Bethun, the great duke of Sully, prime minister, to Henry IV. his exile was made comfortable,

comfortable, and queen Mary, and her son James VI. nominated him their ambassador at that court. He died at Paris in 1603, having bequeathed to the Scotch college, the whole writs, reliques, and antiquities; which he had carried away from the see of Glasgow.

From this period to the revolution, in 1688, there is a succession, translation, death, and dismissal of fifteen protestant archbishops, who seem to have been tools of the people in power, and put there for the purpose of alienating, to their patrons, the princely estates which belonged to the church. *Vide Church History.*

After bishop Cameron had built his palace nigh the high church in 1426, he caused each of the thirty-two rectors to build a manse near it; and ordained them to reside here, and cause curates to officiate in their respective parishes. These buildings were erected on the four streets adjacent to the cathedral, now known by the name of High-street, intersected by the Drygate and Rottenrow, forming a cross at the Bell of the Wynd-head. He made a most magnificent and solemn procession, and entry into the metropolitan church, preceded by twelve persons, viz. one carrying his large silver crozier or pastoral-staff, and eleven carrying silver maces, followed by the thirty-two members of the chapter,

ter, (the bells of the two steeples ringing, the organs playing, accompanied with the vocal music of the choir), gorgeously arrayed with costly vestments, when *Te Deum* was sung, and *Mass* celebrated.

Bishop Cameron procured, from his majesty, a fair to be held yearly, called St. Mungo's Fair, which continues weekly a horse-market from the twentieth day of Yule till *Skairs* Thursday.

The great resort of his vassals, and tenants, being noblemen and barons of the greatest figure in the kingdom, waiting upon this spiritual prince, in the common course of business, together with the ecclesiastics that depended upon him, made his court to be very splendid, next to majesty itself.

Bishop Cameron created commissaries, clerks, and fiscals, and established the two commissary courts of Glasgow, Hamilton and Campsie, to be held three times a week, viz. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, in the consistorial-house, upon the west end of the cathedral. The jurisdiction of these courts extends over part of the following shires, viz. Dumbarton, Renfrew, Stirling, Lanark, and Ayr.

The

The reader, having heard of the bishop and his dignitaries, being well lodged and living in splendour, may wish to hear how they were supported; first, then, the bishops and archbishops, were lords of the lordships, and barony, and royalty of Glasgow, besides eighteen baronies of land, which belonged to them within the sheriffdoms of Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Stewarty of Annandale. It is said they had likewise a great estate in Cumberland, in England, within their jurisdiction, being named of old *The spiritual dukedom*.

The mint-house stood nigh the correction-house, in the Drygate. Some coins of Robert the III. struck here, are in the cabinets of the curious, with the king's crest crowned; but without a sceptre, and *Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum*. In the inner circle *Villa de Glasgow*, and on the outer *Dominus Protector*.

Before the reign of king James I. of Scotland, the town was governed by bailies nominated by the bishop, who, at this time, appointed a provost, the first was Sir John Stewart of Minto, who, in the days of feudal anarchy, found the charge of so much weight and importance, that he brought his family here. His successors continued in office till after the reformation, when they suddenly

suddenly fell from great affluence and power to extreme poverty; the last of the family went out an adventurer to the Darien settlement, 1699, where he perished with some thousands of his countrymen. Though the share was so low as an hundred pounds; he was not a partner. The tomb of this ancient family, the only one spared at the reformation, stands on the west side of the door on the south side of the choir.

The court of regality was erected about the year 1451, an engine of oppression in the hands of the nobility; it was very properly abolished, with the other feudal jurisdictions in 1748. The sheriff court succeeded it.

Meantime it is said that William the Lyon erected the town into a royal borough, anno 1165; and that the charter is witnessed thus, viz. earl David my brother, earl Duncan, Gilbert earl Gilchrist of Monteith, Richard of Morval our constable, Robert of Queensfy, Richard Cumming, Walter de Berkley, chamberlain, William de Wintripot, Philip de Volin, Robert de Berkley, Adam de Stenhouse, at Traquair, anno one thousand one hundred and sixty-five. The original of this charter, among the other records of the see, is in the Scottish college at Paris.

TEMPLES, MONASTERIES, CHURCHES, AND HOSPITALS.

601 Before the complete establishment of Christianity, and the extirpation of Paganism, the Druids had a temple where Glasgow now stands, the priests lived in cells near the blackfriars church, adjacent to the college. They were sometime afterwards succeeded by the blackfriars, who erected their convent nigh the same place, where still stands some remains of the convent of the gray-friars, minorites of Glasgow, which was patronized by the celebrated, but unfortunate, Isobel duchess of Albany, who received from her cousin, James I. of Scotland, as a present from him, the head of her father the earl of Lenox, duke Murdoch her husband, the heads of two of three of her sons, viz. Walter and Alexander; James having fled to Ireland, where he died. The learned Mr. George Crawford, in his history of Renfrewshire, says, for illustration of this, "I have seen a mortification
 " by Isobel duchess of Albany, and countess of Lenox,
 " to the *convent of the grey-friars of Glasgow*, of the lands
 " of Balagan, which grant she expresses to be made for
 " the salvation of our soul, and that of *Murdoch duke of*
 " *Albany, of worthy memory, our very dear husband, and*
 " also for *Duncan earl of Lenox, our father, and of Wal-*
 " *ter, James, and Alexander, our sons.*"—Dated at Inch-
 myrin 18th May, 1451. The convent of the greyfriars
 of

of Glasgow, stood on the site of Bar's land, and the house immediately to the north of the old grammar-school wynd. This, with the house of the earl of Lenox, filled up that space of ground which the reader may remember a timber land. Tradition says it was afterwards occupied as the bishop's prison and guard-house, and, in the beginning of the last century, was the scene of the tortures inflicted on the celebrated Mr. Ogilvie the jesuit, whose story is told at length in its proper place.

The church of the blackfriars, a noble pile of gothic architecture, was built in the seventh century. In 1638, Mr. Milne, architect to Charles I. viewed it, and said it had not its parallel in Scotland, except Whitburn in Galloway, and that in respect to it, the high church was but of yesterday.—It was ruined by a thunderbolt in 1668; and, in 1699, the city built the present church, which cost near two thousand pounds.—The bishops were the principal patrons of the blackfriars.

1350 Lady Lochhow feued out the ground where the Bridgegate now stands, and where the east side of the Gorbals is built, and appropriated the feu-duties to the founding and supporting of St. Ninian's hospital, for the reception of lepers. It stood on St. Ninian's croft. This lady was daughter of Robert duke of Albany, and grandmother

mother to Colin first earl of Argyle. So late as 1664, the water-bailie was in the practice of uplifting the feuduties for the city.

St. Nicholas hospital was built and indued by bishop Muirhead, near his palace. *See bishop Muirhead in the chronology of bishops.*

The grey-friars had a monastery at the foot of the Dean-side brae. It was a prior of this convent that obtained from the king a charter for the fair of Glasgow, held on the second Monday of July. On the last day of the fair, it was customary for the principal citizens to go in a body and pay their respects to the prior for this favour.

1471 St. Enoch's church in St. Enoch's gate, now Trongate, dedicated to the blessed virgin and St. Michael, had a provost and eight prebends. It was repaired by the city in 1592. The steeple was built in 1637, has two bells, a clock with four dial-plates. This church, with the two in the cathedral, served the inhabitants for worship before the revolution.

CHAP.

C H A P. 2.

*State of the country, and of the opinions of men, previous to,
and at the Reformation.*

1551 JAMES BEATON, of the house of Balfour in Fife, was preferred to the see of Glasgow. At this period, the church, if the reformed will allow it that name, was employed in controversies respecting the mode of address in prayer; the catholics insisted that our addressees should be to the saints, as secondary agents; the reformed were of opinion, that prayer should be addressed to God alone, saying, Our Father which art in heaven.

1556 The transactions of this year begin with the citation and condemnation of Mr. John Knox, who had gone to Geneva, being elected minister of the English church in that city. This year was remarkable for various prodigies, celestial and terrestrial. A comet shone with great lustre, during the months of November, December, and January; large rivers were dried up, in the midst of winter; and, in the summer, so overflowed their banks, as to drown several villages; and many cattle, feeding in the low grounds, were by the currents swept down to the ocean: large whales were embayed in the frith, and cast on the shores of the Forth. Hailstones,
of

of the bigness of doves eggs, fell in many parts, and destroyed the corn.

These wonderful phenomena of nature, were followed by one more terrific; during many days and nights a terrible fiery dragon was seen fly low and near the earth, and, to appearance, vomited fire both day and night; the flames, emitted by this meteor, were so nigh the surface of the earth, and in contact with it, that the people found it necessary to watch their houses and corn-yards. The courtiers thought these signs prognosticated troubles from the match with France; the thinking part of the people conceived that it preceded some great change in the church and state; and, indeed, the estimation in which the clergy were held diminished daily. Impressed with this idea, numbers of them relinquished their order, made open profession of the doctrines of the reformed, and taught them in their sermons, from the pulpits of their own churches. This defection becoming general over the whole country, the friars, preachers, breaking loose from their cloisters, and, in their sermons, declaiming against the corruptions of the church, so alarmed the bishops, that they persuaded the good queen regent to cite these apostates before her council, *for raising mutinies, and stirring up sedition.* They obeyed, and were accompanied by such multitudes of their hearers, as
to

to alarm the queen, who put off the trial to another time; and, in support of her authority, issued a proclamation, ordering all strangers, who had come to the city without licence, to repair to the borders in 15 days, and attend the lieutenant in the service against England. The west country gentlemen, who had come in a tumult to the palace, entered the queen's privy chamber, and complained of the unreasonableness of these orders. One of them, in the language and manners of the times, said, *We know, Madam, that this is the desire of the bishops, who stand by you; we vow to God, it shall not go so; they oppress us, and our poor tenants, for feeding their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and seek to undo them, and us; we will not suffer it any longer.* At these words, every man laid his hand on his sword, and so frightened the queen, that she begged leave to assure them, the preachers had only been called on, that she might hear a controversy with them and the bishops. We have seen that the seeds of the reformation were planted by fire, and, in due time, that they grew in it, and that the tares were pruned by the sword. The burning of Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest, who was tried and condemned for not saying mass, was, it is said, the death of popery in Scotland.

So

So early as 1539, says Hume of Godscroft, the clergy appeared to dread a change in religion; for illustration of which, he introduces the following anecdote.

This year was remarkable for the death of some great and learned men, who were ornaments to their country, and the age in which they lived, viz. Messrs. John Major, Hector Boeth or Boece, men of good learning, and worthy to be remembered.—With them I shall join a character, possessed of no learning, nor any good qualities, but remarkable for many strange and remarkable things seen in him, which made him the wonder and talk of the time.—This man, named John Scott, having lost a law-suit, and knowing himself unable to implement the decree, took sanctuary in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse; where, out of deep displeasure at his ill fortune, he abstained from meat or drink for thirty or forty days together. Public report brought this to the king, who brought it to a proof, by causing Scott to be shut up in a private room in the castle of Edinburgh, whereto no person had access, and caused a little bread and water to be set by him, which he was found not to have tasted in the space of thirty-two days.—After this undoubted proof given of his abstinence, Scott was set at liberty; and coming out of his prison, half-naked, into the street, made a speech to the people that flocked about him, affirming, he did all
this

this by the help of the blessed virgin, and that he could fast as long as he pleased. Many took it for a miracle, esteeming him a person of great sanctity; others thought he was frantic and mad; and, coming to be neglected, he left the country, went to Rome, when he gave a like satisfying proof of his fasting to pope Clement VII.

From thence he set out for Venice, clad in the holy vestures which the priests wear when they say mass; and, carrying in his hand a certificate of his abstinence, sealed with the pope's seal; there he gave the like proof of his abstinence, and was presented with *five ducats*, to bear his travelling expences to the holy sepulchre, which he pretended to visit. He performed the voyage, and returned with some palm-leaves, and a scrip full of stones, which he said were a part of the pillar to which our Saviour was tied, when he was scourged. Coming home, by way of London; he entered the pulpit in St. Paul's church-yard, and, in a harangue to the people, railed against Henry VIII. for divorcing his queen Catharine, of Castile, and for his dissension from the Roman see.— For this he was imprisoned, where he performed a fast of fifty days, and was then dismissed as a madman. After his liberation, he made the best of his way to Scotland, and associated with one *Thomas Doughty*, lately returned

from Loretta, who had built a chapel to the holy virgin with the money he had begged in his travels. This cheat, patronized by the clergy, abused the vulgar to his great profit, by his pretended miracles; but, refusing a fair division of the gains with Scott, our hero retired to the suburbs of the west-port of Edinburgh, where he erected a religious altar, and adorned it in the best manner he could. On it he placed his daughter, a maid of tolerable beauty, placing lights and torches round about her. The common people, for a long time, believed her to be the virgin Mary, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worship; but the knavery coming to be detected, he forsook his altar; and, forgetting all his devotion, returned to his former trade and manner of life. Bishop Lesly, in writing this man's story, (for he was a great champion for purgatory and pardons,) says, he prophesied many things concerning the downfall of the Romish religion, and the restitution of it in a short time. Of the downfall of it, says my author, he might speak; for, he saw it begun; but, for other things, he was a dreamer, rather than a prophet.

1559 Our limits will not admit of a detail of the combinations of the nobility, strengthened by the full force of the feudal system, and the aid they received from England,

land, which enabled them to bid defiance to the will of their sovereign, and prescribe laws to the *altar and the throne*. The nobility, who joined in the reformation, and in opposition to the queen regent, (having left the convention at Perth, disconcerted by the queen's manœuvres, which were greatly strengthened by the heads of the church, and come as far as Stirling;) finding themselves much at a loss what course to steer, were most seasonably animated by a sermon preached by Mr. John Knox, encouraging them to go on, in the work which they had begun, like sinking men taking hold of straw, when all hopes of the shore is lost. Inspired with new courage, they sent a deputation to queen Elizabeth, at all times wishing to support rebellion in Scotland, confident of instant supplies of men or money. The duke de Chattelherault, and a number of the nobility, with their followers, marched to Glasgow, caused all the images in the cathedral to be pulled down, and took possession of the palace.

They learned, however, in a few days after, that the archbishop, with a number of Frenchmen, the lords Sempill, Seton, and Ross, with their followers, were coming from Edinburgh; this intelligence put these invaders to flight before his grace, and his forces made

their appearance. Finding that the reformers had destroyed every thing sacred that lay in their way, and presaging the same fate, was waiting for what they could not come at, he kept these troops about him in garrison, and summoned his numerous vassals, and tenants, and the citizens to guard the castle and cathedral from the depredations of these furious and *interested* reformers, until he had time to pack up, and send away to France, all the ornaments, plate and writings, of the church of Glasgow. Among other things, was a golden statue of our Saviour, and the twelve apostles in silver. This rich treasure of Roman grandeur, superstition, and credulity, he followed to Paris, where his name and religion procured him a civil reception and asylum from his namesake, the marquis de Rosney, great duke of Sully, prime minister to Henry the great. He lived in this exile above forty years, and during that period successively, and sometimes jointly, supported the character of ambassador of the unfortunate Mary, and her son James VI. of Scotland. The particular services rendered by him to this prince, at the court of Rome, in facilitating his accession to the throne of England, upon the demise of queen Elizabeth, have not yet been properly noticed by our historians,

1559-60 At this memorable æra, the reformers found the country over-run and impoverished, by a swarm of useless drones, so numerous, that a reader of the present day would scarcely believe. The following list of the religious houses in Scotland, will enable him to form some idea of the wealth of the church.

The benedictines, or black monks	- - -	9
The clugnicks	- - -	2
The cistertians, a second refining of the <i>droffy</i> benedictines	- - - } 14	
The monks in the valley of Reids, a branch of the refined cistertians	- - - } 4	
The augustines	- - -	19
The praeemonstrants	- - -	5
The tironefes ; those were novices, or fresh water monks	- - - } 3	
The carthusians	- - -	1

In all 57

nine of which were in the diocese of Glasgow.

The following statement of the revenue of Scotland, at the reformation, shews in what rank the church stood at this period.

There

There was imposed upon the kirkmen and boroughs, says *Hume of Godscroft*, £. 24,000 Scots, viz. £. 16,000 upon the clergy, and £. 8000 upon the boroughs.

“ In this year,” says the same author, “ began the uproar for religion. The clergy, perceiving the whole gentry and commons, bent to hear the word of God preached, were sore afraid, and held an assembly in the blackfriars of Edinburgh, to consult how to suppress the protestants. They made divers constitutions, as first, that no man should have a benefice of the kirk but priests. Secondly, *That no kirkman should commit whoredom*, or, if he did, for the first fault he should pay great sums of money, for the second he should lose his benefice. To this act opposed the bishop of Murray, a great fornicator, and adulterer, alleging it was as lawful to him to keep his whore, as to the bishop of St. Andrews. Thirdly, they made an act, that the book written by Sir David Lindsay knight of the Mount, lyon king at arms to James V. should be abolished and burnt.”

FRIARS.

The monks were confined to their cloisters, but the friars were allowed to go and preach in the neighbouring

ing parishes. By profession they were mendicants, and by their constitution were to hold no property. At the dissolution of their houses, however, it was found *that they had totally forgot the rules of their order*. The dominicans, or black-friars, had twenty-three convents; the franciscans, or grey-friars six; the friars, observant minorites, eight; the carmelite friars seven; the trinity friars had, together with three monasteries, one abbey, and six priories. The orders of the three last mentioned are not on record, the different orders of nuns, are in the same predicament; the number of the nunneries was twelve.

SEMINARIES.

Besides the convents of regulars, there were fourteen colleges, and twelve provostries, (for secular priests) endowed with ample revenues. The following were in the diocese of Glasgow, viz. the college of Bothwell, and Lincluden, both founded by Archibald first earl of Douglas; Carnwath, by Thomas lord Sommerville; Kilmaurs, by the earl of Glencairn; Hamilton, by lord Hamilton; Dumbarton, by one of the countesses of Lennox.

The provostry of Miniboll [Maybole], by Sir Gilbert Kennedy, knight; Sempill, by lord Sempill. The church

church of St. Mary and St. Michael in Glasgow, had a provost and eight canons.

We shall conclude the detail of these religious orders with the

KNIGHTS-TEMPLARS.

They had only one house in this country, called the hospital of St. Germain, in Lothian. It was dissolved in the year 1494, and king James IV. bestowed the revenues of it on the king's college of Aberdeen, newly founded by him and bishop Elphinston, a citizen of Glasgow.

My readers, who are acquainted with the topography of this country, and who have attended to the derivation of names, will find in every third parish of the low lands, a four-horse-gang of land or ploughgate, named *the Temple*;—partly inclosed with feal-dyke, in conformity to the laws of James I. These farms appear to have been donations of the pious, at different periods, for the support of this order, whose constitution seems to have taken its rise from the superstition and enthusiasm of Mahomet, who enforced the precepts of his religion by the sword.

CHURCH.

CHURCH.

The archbishopsrick of St. Andrews comprehended the following fees, viz. Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Murray, Brechin, Dumblain, Rofs, and Caithness.

The archbishopsrick of Glasgow,—Galloway, Argyle, and the bishopsrick of the isles.

UNIVERSITIES.

St. Andrews was founded by bishop Wardlaw, anno 1412; Glasgow by bishop Turnbull, anno 1453; Aberdeen by bishop Elphinston and James IV. anno 1494. Like Glasgow, the foundation and privileges are, in conformity to those of Paris and Bononia, without reference to those of Oxford and Cambridge, because of the wars between the two nations.

Besides the parish churches, which at that time amounted to about 1000, the religious establishment of Scotland stood as follows, viz. under the denomination of abbeys, monasteries, and convents, *fifty-seven houses* were filled with religious of the eight preceding descriptions; and of monks who were, by profession, confined to their cloisters, to eat the bread of idleness, and say their prayers at stated hours; *sixty-one houses* occupied by the six orders of friars above-

E

men-

mentioned; *twelve nunneries*, besides *fourteen colleges*, *twelve provostries*, and *three universities*, *two archiepiscopal cathedrals*, and *twelve cathedrals in their dioceses*, making in all *one hundred and seventy houses*,, whose inhabitants, said the reformers, eat up not only our sustenance, but also that of the gentry, and our tenants.—Such was the language of the nobles, when they laid hands on the spoils of the church immediately before this time.

1560 John Knox had formed a book of discipline for the reformed church, partly in imitation of the reformed churches of Germany, and partly of that which he had seen at Geneva, to which he craved the sanction of the estates. They declined entering upon a business by them not well understood; they, however, passed an act for the demolition of such cloisters, and abbey-churches, as were not yet pulled down. In consequence of this act, the face of the country, once highly ornamented with stately edifices, dedicated to religion, became the emblem of a desert, exhibiting the ruins of the work of ages.

1568 Queen Mary having come to Hamilton, after her escape from Loch-leven castle, regent Murray happened to be at Glasgow. Several of the nobility, and their followers, went over to the queen; those who remained advised a retreat to Stirling. A considerable number of the citizens, and others in the neighbourhood, having
joined

joined his standard, in a day or two his army amounted to about 4000 men. Meantime, the nobility, who had joined the queen at Hamilton, came to the resolution of lodging her majesty in the strong fortrefs of Dunbarton, till they should try the fortune of arms with the regent in the field. He had information of this by his spies, and drew up his army on the Gallow-muir, in order to dispute the passage; to avoid this, the royal army came down by Rutherglen, intending to cross the Clyde at Renfrew; but when he saw them, from the opposite side, he caused his cavalry ford the river, which left the bridge open to his infantry. The possession of Langside hill was to be of much importance to either side on the fate of a battle. The regent obtained it, in consequence of the queen's army being suddenly stopt in their march by an accident. The earl of Argyle was seized with a fit of the epilepsy. After they had arranged matters for the fight, and had come to the foot of the hill, they found the regent's army drawn up in two battalions on the south-east front of it. Upon this they retired to the Clin-cart brae, and drew up their forces in the same order; during this, the field-pieces of both armies were playing on each other. The regent's artillery, having an advantageous situation, soon silenced that of the queen's party. His cavalry gave ground to the queen's; his archers, however, rained such a shower of arrows upon the queen's

fast. The insolence of Glasgow furnished matter of declamation to the preachers ; they, afterwards, excommunicated Montgomery, and it was with difficulty the king got matters compromised with them, so as to stop their process, which was capital, against the lord provost. The Duke, who was the cause of all this, was very freely loaded with blame ; and, the opposite faction, taking the king out of his hands at the race of Ruthven, put it out of his power to renew his intentions. It was by this, however, that the duke's heirs came to be lords of the archbishop's castle, lately bestowed, by his majesty, on the Glasgow royal infirmary.

Among a list of grievances presented to the king, upon this occasion we find the magistrates complained on, for invading the college with a mob, (collected by ringing of bells, and beating of drums,) and shedding the blood of many of the students, who prevented them from burning the university. The destruction of this seminary would have added considerably to the duke's revenue as lord of Glasgow. The bailies, named as the ring-leaders of this mob, are Colin Campbell, William Heygate, and Archibald Heygate.

1595 About this time private war prevailed so much, that husbandry was neglected ; which, with a windy harvest,

harvest, brought on a famine. The feuds between the Johnstons of Annandale, and lord Maxwell, were carried to such a length this year, that a number of citizens went south with the gentry of the name of Maxwell in the neighbourhood, accompanied by their vassals, to assist their chief in a battle, which proved fatal to him and them. Few of the vassals and citizens returned.

1597 The transactions of this year are strongly marked with the ignorance of the times. Margaret Aiken, apprehended for a witch, confessed; and, to save her life, promised to discover all the witches in the kingdom, by a mark in their eyes, known only to the sisters. A royal commission being granted, a circuit court perambulated the country, during three or four months, and at last came to Glasgow, carrying the woman along with them. In the course of the proceedings, she accused several innocent women; who, through the credulity of Mr. John Cowper, minister of the city, were condemned and put to death. Too late she was found to be an impostor, for those she had condemned the one day, when brought to her the next, in different dresses, she acquitted. She was sent back to Fife from whence she came; and at her trial and execution, she affirmed, that all she had said concerning herself, and others, was false, which made those who acted as judges, in these tribunals, think seriously on what

what they had done, and operated upon the king to recal the commission. On the 25th of February, this year, there was a total eclipse of the sun: This was called the *black Saturday*.

1614 About the end of this year, John Ogilvy, a jesuit from the college of Grats, was apprehended at Glasgow; there were found on him three little books, containing directions for receiving confessions, and a warrant to them that possessed church livings, to profess the Protestant religion. His majesty sent a commission to the secretary of state, lord Kilsyth, the treasurer depute, and the lord advocate, to proceed to Glasgow, and sit on the trial of this remarkable person, whose courage, bigotry, and firmness, far exceeded those of Clement or Raveliac, the regicides of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France. Being impanelled, he was asked, when he came to Scotland? and what was his business? He answered, he came in June last, and that his errand was to save souls; that he would not utter any thing to the prejudice of others. The commissioners, to extort a confession, adjourned the court, and ordered him to be kept from sleep three days and three nights. He began to discover some particulars, after he had wanted rest so long; but, after he had been allowed some sleep, he denied all he had said. The commissioners transmitted an account of their seditious
king,

king, who, being certified that without torture nothing could be drawn from him, was against such a mode of proceeding with priests; ordering him, if he was found to be a jesuit and had said mass, to be banished the country under pain of death. But should it appear, that he had been stirring up subjects to rebellion, or maintaining the pope's transcendancy over kings; and, if he refused to take the oath of allegiance, the commissioners were directed to leave him to the course of law and justice. Mean time, it was the king's pleasure, that the following queries should be put to him, and his answers thereto required :

1. If the pope be judge, and hath power in spirituals over his majesty;—and if that power will reach to temporals, as affirmed by Bellarmine?
2. If the pope has power to excommunicate kings, (and such as are not of his church) as his majesty?
3. If the pope has power to depose kings by him excommunicated?
4. If it is no murder to kill his majesty, being so excommunicated?

5. If the pope has power to affoilzie subjects from their oath of their born and native allegiance to his majesty?

These questions came inclosed in a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, who called the lord provost of the city the principal of the university, and one of the ministers to attend him, in order to hear them read, and to receive Mr. Ogilvy's answers, which he gave, under his hand, as follows :

I acknowledge the pope of Rome, to be judge unto his majesty, and to have power over him in spirituals, and over all Christian kings ; but where it is asked, whether he is possessed of that power in temporalities, I am not obliged to declare my opinion thereon, except to him who is judge of controversies of religion, viz. the pope, or one having authority under him.

For the 2d point, I think, that the pope has power to excommunicate the king ; and where it is said the king is not of the pope's church, I answer, that all who are baptized are in the pope's power.

To

To the 3d, where it is asked, If the pope has power to depose the king, being excommunicate, I say, That I am not tied to declare my mind, except to him who is judge in controversies of religion.

To the 4th and 5th, I answer, UT SUPRA.

The archbishop and his assessors were at much pains to convince him of the dangerous situation into which these answers had thrown him. Of this, they gave him some days to bethink himself, begging him, for his own sake, in some way or other, to amend and soften them. His answer was, "*That he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him.*" In speaking of the "oath of allegiance, he said, "*It was a damnable oath, and treason against God to swear it.*" The answers, being signed, and certified by the archbishop and his assessors, were sent off to the king. The privy council were thereupon ordered to pass a commission to the lord provost and bailies of Glasgow, for putting him to trial. These commissioners were assisted by James marquis of Hamilton, Robert earl of Lothian, William lord Sanguhar, John lord Fleming, and Robert lord Boyd. Some days before his trial, Mr. Ogilvy was told, that if he would recal the answers made to the questions pro-

posed, the trial should be suspended till his majesty were of new advertised. His reply was, *He did so little mind to recal any thing he had said, as that when he should be brought to his answer, he should put a bonnet on it.* His spirited defence, before such an august tribunal, would have done honour to a better cause.

Being again impannelled, and the indictment read, which was founded on our acts of parliament since the reformation, and the answers to the five queries subscribed by himself; and being desired to plead guilty or not guilty, he answered with much heat in the following words:—

“ Under protestation that I do not acknowledge this
“ judgement, nor receive you that are named in the com-
“ mission for my judges, I deny any point laid against me
“ to be treason; for if it were treason, it would be such
“ in all places and kingdoms, which you know not to be
“ so. As to your acts of parliament, they were made by
“ a number of partial men, and of matters not subject to
“ their *forum*, or judicatory, for which I will not give a
“ rotten fig. And, where I am said to be an enemy
“ to the king’s authority, I know no authority he has,
“ but what he received from his predecessors, who ac-
“ knowledged

“knowledged the pope’s jurisdiction. If the king
“will be to me as his predecessors were to mine, I will
“obey and acknowledge him for my king, but if he do
“otherwise, and play the runagate from God, as he
“and you all do, I will not acknowledge him more
“than this old hat.”—Upon this he pulled off his hat,
and twirled it in the air. At these words, being inter-
rupted and commanded to speak more reverently of
his majesty, he said, he should take the advertise-
ment, and not offend, but the judgement he would not
acknowledge,—“and for the reverence I do you,” said
he, “to stand uncovered, I let you know it is *ad re-*
“*demptionem vexationis, not ad agnitionem judicii.*”

The jury being called over, he was desired to except
against any of them, if he saw cause. He said, he had
one objection against them all, which was “That they
“were either enemies, or friends to his cause. If ene-
“mies, they could not sit on his trial; if friends, they
“should assist him at the bar. Only he would wish the
“gentlemen to consider well what they did, and that
“he could not be judged by them; that whatever he
“suffered was by way of injury, not of judgement; and
“that he was accused of treason, but he had committed
“no offence, nor could he beg mercy.” Proceeding
in

in this strain, "I am," said he, "a subject as free as the king is a king. I came by the command of my superior into this kingdom, and if I were even now forth of it, I would return; neither do I repent any thing, but that I have not been so busy as I should, in that which you call perverting of subjects.

"I am accused for declining the king's authority, and will do it still, in matters of religion, for with such matters he has nothing to do; and this which I say, is what is maintained by the best of your ministers, who, if they be wise, will continue of the same mind. Some questions moved to me, I refused to answer, because the proposers were not judges in controversies of religion; and therefore I trust you cannot find any thing against me." But I hope, said the archbishop, you will not make this a controversy of religion, Whether the king, being deposed by the pope, may be lawfully killed? To this he replied, "It is a question among the doctors of the church; many hold the affirmative, not improbably, but as that point is not yet determined, if it shall be so concluded, I will give my life in defence of it; and to call it unlawful I will not, though I should save my life by saying it."

The

The great indulgence given to him by the court, increased his arrogance, insomuch, that the jurors were desired to withdraw, who, returning immediately, declared, by the mouth of their chancellor, Sir George Elphinston, the pannel *guilty of ALL the treasonable crimes contained in the indictment.* Whereupon doom was pronounced ; and the same day, he was hanged in the public street of Glasgow.

During the interval between his condemnation and execution. Mr. Ogilvie said to one he took for his friend, *That nothing grieved him so much, as that he had been apprehended in that time, for if he had lived at liberty till Whitfunday, he should have done that which all the bishops and ministers in Scotland and England, should never have helped ; and to have done it, he would willingly have been drawn to pieces by horses and cared not what torments he had endured.* The person with whom Mr. Ogilvy held this conversation did not mention it till after his death.

This trial is equally remarkable, whether we consider the fortitude and enthusiasm of the pannel, or the conduct of the king, whose expiscatory questions, afford an honourable testimony of his judgement.

After

C H A P. 3.

History of the Bishoprick continued—Presbytery abolished in 1610—Re-established in 1638.

After closing the tragedy of the celebrated Mr. John Ogilvy, we return to the spiritual part of the history of the bishoprick, and find in the year 1610, our sagacious sovereign James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, bringing to bear his favourite maxim, *No bishop no king*. Driving this theory into practice, he had managed matters so well, as to prevail on the great and learned Mr. John Spottiswood, to become his friend, and to accept of the see of Glasgow. He was accordingly consecrated by the bishop of London, and after his induction to the see, caused the general assembly, (whose sittings were then ambulatory) to meet at Glasgow, where the bishop managed matters so much, in conformity to the interest, or at least, to the views of his royal master, that, to use his own words, “after purging the assembly of a great number of its members who adhered to presbytery, that form of church government was abolished, by their act, and episcopacy established.” This act was amended by the parliament, which sat down in Edinburgh soon afterwards, and brought to its true meaning, so as to establish episcopacy in conformity to the

the mode of worship established in the church of England. That parliament was made up of four orders, viz. the king, the church, the barons, and the knights of the shires and burgessees. The last three of these orders sat in one house, where, it may be presumed, the powerful barons, in the strength of the feudal system, maintained their influence over the votes of their vassals, the knights and burgessees.

Another general assembly was held at Glasgow, in the year 1638, of which we shall now give an account. Before entering upon it, however, it may be necessary to premise, that, in the preceding year, 1637, there had been obtruded upon the *church of Scotland*, a service-book, arranged under the direction of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, in which, it was thought, the service of the mass preponderated, more than in the English liturgy. On this account that prelate became the subject of popular abuse in Scotland. He had been previously highly censured in England, for the innovations he introduced into the church, by reviving the superstitious sentiments and ceremonies that prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries. He was equally condemned for performing the most solemn acts of devotion, in a manner which was tainted with the rites of superstition. His bowing at the name of Jesus, and
the

the ceremonies employed by him in the consecration of St. Catherine's church, were the objects of general scandal and offence.

Of this consecration it may not be improper to give some account. Upon his approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, or sung, from the 24th psalm, "*Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.*" Immediately the doors of the church were thrown open, and the bishop, entering, fell upon his knees, expanded his arms, and uttered these words—"*This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I PRONOUNCE IT HOLY!*"

In going to the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: And on their return, they marched round the church, repeating some of the psalms. A form of prayer was then said, which concluded with consecrating the church, and separating it as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses. The rest of the ceremony consisted of imprecations on such as should afterwards pollute that holy place; and of blessings upon

upon those who had been concerned in framing and building the sacred edifice, as well as upon such as had given, or should give to it, any ornaments, or utensils. The sermon followed, after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament. * The whole of the ceremonies were conducted in a manner, which was thought, at the time, to be a mixture of the rites of the Jewish, and Romish churches, with those of the Lutheran reformers. Such ceremonies would never have been relished by the church of Scotland ; and they could not fail of being also disagreeable, in the extreme, to the English church, which was then puritanical.

This prelate was remarkable for severity of manners, and for polemical knowledge ;—for unrelenting zeal in the cause religion, and for the unceasing industry with which he studied to exalt the prelatical character. His influence with the king gave him an opportunity of exerting these qualities.—But the fury of his zeal created a universal alarm, and produced in time a revolution in church and state, both in England and Scotland ; became the cause of his own imprisonment and execution, and was at last the means of bringing his too easy sovereign to the scaffold.

* Hume's history of England.

This much we have thought it proper to observe, concerning Laud and his service-book, as the disgust, occasioned by the introduction of that liturgy, had a considerable effect upon the procedure of the assembly. Of these proceedings we shall now enter upon the detail.

When the diet of the assembly drew near, it was considered by the tables or committee at Edinburgh, that it would be proper, besides the commissioners, to draw thither the gentry of the country, in order to guard the assembly, and make it terrible to gainfayers. For this end they fell upon a very curious device. They caused a report to be spread, that these robbers, then in the highlands, would come down, beset the ways, and do violence to the commissioners in their journey to Glasgow; and that it was therefore fit, that all who were zealous in the cause, should convey their commissioners to the assembly, and guard them during their sitting.* This being done, the concourse of people was very great; and the assembly contained not only the influence of the crown, but the power of the feudal nobility, joined to the ministers and commissioners of the church.

* Memoirs of bishop Guthrie.

Of the first day's sitting, the following account is given by the learned and ingenious Doctor Robert Bailie, afterwards principal of the University of Glasgow, one of the first men of the age in which he lived, and who acted a principal character in the important transactions of these times. "On Friday 18th November, we in the west, as we were desired, came to Glasgow; our noblemen, especially Eglinton, backed with a great number of vassals; and on Saturday, came in, most of our eastland noblemen, barons, and ministers; the earls of Rothes, Montrose, and many of our folks, went out to meet his grace the commissioner.* As for myself, I am well lodged. Indeed the magistrates had taken such order, that rooms were found in plenty and at a reasonable price, with large provision, above all expectation, for which they got much thanks and credit. This town can lodge easily at once, *council, session, parliament, and general assembly*, if need should require." Where the general assembly was held, he does not mention, but as the inner, and outer church, were by this time fitted up for worship, in the manner they now are, we presume, the choir to have been prepared for the assembly, in the manner of Westminster-hall, in cases of state trials. "With great difficulty, we were set down; the commissioner in his chair of state. At his feet before, and on both sides, the chief of the council, the

* The marquis of Hamilton.

the treasurer, privy seal, Argyle, Marr, Murray, Angus, Lauderdale, Wigton, Glencairn, Perth, Tullibardine, Galloway, Haddington, Kinghorn, register, treasurer-depute, justice-general, *Amounst*, justice-clerk, Southeske, Linlithgow, Dalziel, Dumfries, Queensberry, Belhaven, and many more. At a long table in the floor, —our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commissioners from presbyteries; among whom were, Rothes, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassilis, Lothian, Wemyss, Loudoun, Sinclair, Balmerino, Burleigh, Lindsay, Yester, Hume, Johnston, Keir, *Auldbar*, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Durie younger, Lamington, Sir John Mackenzie, George Gordon, Philorth, Tairie, Newton. Few barons in Scotland, of note, but were either voters or assessors from every burgh. From Edinburgh, the chief burgh, James Cochran and Thomas Paterfon, from all the sixty-three presbyteries except a very few, three commissioners each, —from the four universities also, —all sitting in good commodious forms, rising gradually around the low long table. A little table was set in the middle, fronting the commissioner, for the moderator and clerk. At the end a high room, prepared chiefly for young noblemen, viz. Montgomery, Fleming, Boyd, Areskine, Linton, Creighton, Livingston, Ross, Maitland, Drumlanrig, Drummond, Keir, Elcho, and sundry more, with great numbers of people

people, ladies, and some gentlemen, in the vaults above.

“Mr. John Bell * had a very good and pertinent sermon, sharp enough against our late innovations, and episcopacy. The pity was, the good old man was not heard by one sixth part of the beholders. That service ended with hearty prayer, which I, with many more, I trust, seconded, with hearty tears. My lord gave in his commission, to Mr. Thomas Sandilands, as depute from his father, Mr. J. Sandilands, commissar of Aberdeen, clerk to the last general assembly. His grace harangued none at all as we expected he would. We found him thereafter, as able to have spoken well, what he pleased, as any in the house. I take the man to be of a sharp, ready, solid, clear wit, of a brave and masterly expression; loud, distinct, slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly, yet simple and natural language. If the king have many such men, he is a well served prince.”

In this superb, though dangerous assembly of the church, and of the nobility and land-holders of the kingdom, the presbyterian party carried every thing before them; and, what was astonishing, the nobility who headed the presbyterian clergy, managed matters so well, as to keep the priesthood only in hopes, concerning

* Minister of the city.

cerning the division of temporalities, for which here had been a violent scramble among the patrons and patronised; about which they had wrangled during the sitting, and for which, in this and the former age, they and their predecessors, had silently found themselves the tools of their patrons. Their venerable successors of the present age, the first race of men of that description in the world, in looking to their families, and their scanty income, regret this political frenzy which pervaded their predecessors, when they departed from the paths of peace, in so far as to forget their own interest and that of their successors.—They never were at any period of so much importance in the state; they lost the opportunity of remaining so, and, for the pitiful honour of governing the minds of a bewildered people in the affairs of state, they left themselves in want, and their flocks in rebellion, against their sovereign, as will be seen in the following pages.

When the nobility, who headed the presbyterian clergy, had carried every thing before them at the expence of fair promises to their deluded voters,—his grace the marquis of Hamilton, his majesty's commissioner, after he had lost the cause of his errand, and the division of the spoil of what remained of the temporalities of the archbishoprick of Glasgow, laid hold of them in a

masterful

masterful manner, as our law expresses it, and left the spiritualities to the town ministry, which was but a small matter. But to content Glasgow, the bishoprick of Galloway was afterward given to the college, under deduction of a stipend to the cathedral.

The first day's sitting of the assembly, was on Wednesday, the 21st of November. We have already given part of the proceedings. The remainder of this diet was occupied, with calling over the presbyteries, burghs, and universities, and receiving their commissions. Those from the presbyteries, were almost uniform in tenor and words; and each contained power to three ministers, and one elder, to reason, vote, and conclude, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God, and the confession of faith of the church of Scotland, as they should be answerable to God and the church.

On Thursday, the second diet, the moderator for the time, offered to the commissioner, a leet, or list, upon which votes might pass for the election of a new moderator. The treasurer, Sir Lewis Stewart, argued with great eagerness, that, before any synodical action, the validity of the commissions should be discussed. Against this motion, as “rooting up all possibility ever to settle

H

“any

“any assembly, but at the commissioner’s discretion,”
Rothés, Loudon, and others, reasoned, that custom,
equity, and necessity, enforced the chusing a moderator
and clerk, before the commissions should be discussed, or
any thing else done. Much subtle and passionate plead-
ing having ensued, the commissioner retired to consult
with the council. “After a long stay in the *chapter-
house*,” * he returned and signified his consent to permit
voting for the moderator; protesting, that his voting
should not import his approbation of the commissions, or
his acknowledgement of any voter as a lawful member
of the assembly. He protested also, “That the nomi-
nation of a moderator should be nowise prejudicial to
the lords of the clergy, their office, dignity, or any pri-
vilege, which law or custom had given to them.” These
were followed by counter protests, by Rothés, in name
of the presbyteries and burghs; and the commissioner
having proposed to read a paper presented to him in
name of the bishops, the assembly became clamorous a-
gainst it, whereupon his grace protested, that the refusal
of hearing that paper was unjust. All were tired with
the multiplication of protests, *except the clerk, who receiv-*
ed

* This seems clearly to point out, that the cathedral was the place of sitting.

ed with each a piece of gold. They were, nevertheless, continued upon various preliminary points. At last the assembly were permitted to chuse a moderator. Messrs. John Ker, John Row, J. Bonner, William Livingston, and Alexander Henderson, were put in the leet, or list, by Mr. John Bell; and Mr. Henderson was almost unanimously elected. In conclusion, it was resolved, to have but one session in the day, from ten, or eleven, till four, or five. “So,” says principal Bailie, “we were all relieved of the expences of a dinner. A breakfast only put us off till supper, for commonly we sat an hour with candle light.”

With respect to the protests, which took place at this diet, principal Bailie observes, “How needless soever many of his grace’s protestations seemed to be, yet I was glad for his way of proceeding. It gave me some hopes of his continuing among us. I thought that this way of protesting had been resolved wisely in council, whereby the commissioner might sit still till the end, and yet, by his presence, import no further approbation to any of our conclusions than he found expedient.” The principal, however, was disappointed in his expectation, as will appear in the sequel.

In the third session, Friday, November 23, the moderator presented a list, or list of persons, to be voted upon for the office of clerk. The commissioner, with the view, either of having a clerk who would be submissive to the council, or of shewing his piety and equity, by maintaining every one in his right, pressed much that the young man, Mr. Thomas Sandilands, might serve as depute to his father, Mr. James Sandilands. For many reasons, however, particularly, because Mr. James Sandilands had been improperly elected to the office, by consent of a corrupt assembly, the clerk's place was declared vacant.

The commissioner now moved, that his assessors might vote in the clerk's election. Upon this motion a long debate ensued, and reasons in writing were produced, why the commissioner and his assessors should have but one voice. This great, yea highest question was closed by the renewal of the former night's protestation on both sides.

Mr. Archibald Johnston was chosen clerk, with only one dissent, and being *deeply sworn*, was admitted to all the rights, profits, and privileges of the office. To him, Mr. Sandilands, in the face of the assembly, delivered

vered two registers, containing the acts of the kirk since the year 1590, affirming that his father had never any more in his custody. The moderator lamented the loss of the other registers; and required the assistance of his brethren to procure their production. The commissioner expressed his willingness to do his endeavour for so good a work. Rothes entreated that the bishops might be caused to deliver them up; alledging it was known that king James had sent a warrant to Mr. Thomas Nicholson, late clerk, to deliver the church registers to the bishop of St. Andrew's.

The assembly regretted the irreparable loss of these writings; but, to their great joy, the new clerk declared, that by the good providence of God, the books were come to his hand. He accordingly produced five books in folio, containing the full register from the reformation in 1560, to the year 1590, when Mr. Sandilands' books began, except twenty-three leaves, *which bishop Adamson had torn out*. These had been left by one Winram, depute to Mr. Thomas Nicholson, to Alexander Blair his successor in office, from whom Mr. Johnston had got them; and the first, being an extract or compend, from 1560 to 1590, served, in a great part, to supply Adamson's rapine.

The

The moderator craved that these books should be inspected by Argyle, Lauderdale, and Southesk; but the commissioner would not permit his assessors to undertake such an employment, since they were refused to vote in the assembly. A committee of the synod was therefore appointed to examine if these books were authentic and full registers, and to report as soon as they could.

The assembly were then required, by the moderator, to proceed to investigate the commissions. The commissioner moved, that, in the first place, the paper from the bishops should be read, as the former objections, of the want of a moderator and clerk, were removed. It was answered, once and again, that this could not be done, until, by the discussion of the commissions, the assembly should be constituted. Traquair said, that possibly the paper had exceptions against the lawfulness of the election of the commissioners, which it would be impertinent to alledge, if they were once approved. A long debate, and renewal of protestations, followed. Argyle observed, that as a party is entitled to except against assizers, before they are sworn, so, the bishops, might give in their exceptions against the assembly, which was now like an assize convened, but not sworn.

The

The moderator answered, *cuttedly*, that the commissioner only should speak there; and Loudon took off the whole with this jest, that my lord Argyle's instance was good, if the bishops had appeared, as impannelled men before an assize. With this tedious controversy, ended this day's sitting.

At the fourth session, Saturday, November 24th, the assembly waited for his grace till near twelve. This delay was owing, not so much to his breakfast, which was daily magnificent and sumptuous, as to his consultations with his cabinet council, and the long accounts of occurrences, which were every day made up and dispatched to the king.

The commissions were now examined. These were in number 112, from presbyteries, burghs, and universities. The commissioner protested, that his silence should not be taken for an approbation of any man's commission. Thirteen only were controverted; and we find, that the commissions of the presbytery, and college of Glasgow, were in the number of those rejected.

The

The fifth session was on Monday, November 26. The rest of the commissions were read, and several set aside. The presbyterian party, found, at last, to their great joy, the assembly fully constituted, AND THEN THE BUSINESS BEGAN. The first matter was the trial of the church registers; upon which, the committee were ordered to report next day. At this sitting, a curious circumstance occurred. Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, came with a commission from the Chanrie of Ross, and being rejected, gave in a protestation against ruling elders, with odious accusations against the tables of Edinburgh. Rothes, and the marquis craved instruments of the production of that protestation, "but the man at once went off the town." Mr. Andrew Ramfay got up in a storm, and, with great confidence, undertook to prove, from scripture, fathers, consent of reformed churches, our own church practice, and assembly-acts, that ruling elders were lawful and necessary members of assemblies. The commissioner, professing his own insufficiency, promised to produce some who should prove the contrary. "Balcanqual," says our author, "gibed in private at Andrew's brag, likening him to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him in the king's presence, in the quarrel of the king's crown. Yet I think Mr. Andrew would have made his word good against

gainst any of his grace's disputers, if they durst have come forward."

Mackenzie, having been afterward found a subscriber of the bishop's declinature, and *a most vicious fellow*, was deposed from his ministry.

At the 6th session, on Tuesday, November 27, the committee gave in their report of the five register-books of the assembly, and their reasons for concluding them to be authentic. The commissioner, resolved, it seems, to be a consentor to nothing, would not admit their authenticity. The moderator, on account of the importance of the subject, delayed voting upon it till the next day. He then proposed the naming of assessors to himself, and of a privy conference. This was over-ruled in consideration of the episcopal abuse of the privy conference, to enervate and subvert the assembly; but the moderator was permitted to name a committee, to meet with him an hour every day, for regulating the proceedings. The commissioner protested, that such nomination should not be prejudicial to the king's right, of ordering the matters to be moved in the assembly. Rothes affirmed that right to be in the moderator. The committee were then named, consisting of four ministers, five of the nobility, viz. Rothes, Montrose, Lindfay, Loudon,

London, and Balmerino; three of the gentry, and three of the commissioners from burghs.

Next came on, the long urged declinature and protestation of the bishops. So soon as it was read, lords Montgomery, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, and young Durie, protested, in name of the complainers, that the bishops had acknowledged their citation, and appeared by their proctors, although they had wilfully absented themselves in person; and therefore craved, that sentence might be given against them, as present. The commissioner took a counter protest. He also produced three papers, one subscribed by the dean of Edinburgh and others, another by the ministers of Dundee, and the third by eight of the presbytery of Glasgow, containing each a protest against the assembly, if elders or commissioners should have a voice. These were suppressed, *with the commissioner's open indignation*, after some papers had been read, in favour of the right of elders to sit in synods.

The presbyterian party were glad to observe, from this day's procedure, that the number of protestors, with which they were threatened, was now found to be small, and of little consideration.

On

On Wednesday, November 28, before the sitting commenced, a report was propagated, that the commissioner intended to depart from the assembly that day, and to break it up, in so far as he could. The presbyterian party heard this with much concern; and indeed, it was beyond their expectation. They had but small hopes, at first, of the assembly's sitting down with the commissioner's consent; but, as it had commenced procedure, they thought, that the mode of protesting would have been continued by the commissioner, without his breaking up the assembly, at least, at so early a period: more especially, as he had often expressed his desire to sit till matters should be brought to some tolerable conclusion.

The first business of this day was the assembly books. The commissioner, testified his desire of seeing the church registers restored to her; but, of necessity, protested against these books as true and sufficient. The assembly, notwithstanding, in one voice, accepted of them as the authentic registers of the church.

The consideration of the bishop's declinature being resumed, answers to it in writing were given in, and the moderator required the assembly to vote upon the question, whether they found themselves the bishop's judges?

The commissioner thereupon produced the king's instructions, subscribed and signed, "whereby" says principal Bailie "fundry things were granted to our desire; but nothing that gave us a tolerable security of any thing." The moderator, in a learned speech, returned thanks for the king's great favours, contained in that paper; and afterwards, pressed the assembly to proceed to the vote. A "sad, grave, and sorrowful discourse" ensued. The commissioner, in a speech, accompanied by tears, spoke much of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the king, and country; of his grief, yet necessity to depart. The causes he alledged were, the spoiling the assembly, by partial directions from the tables at Edinburgh; and the precipitant intrusion of lay-elders to vote in the assembly; and his grace added, that, instead of chusing elders, had the presbyteries applied to the king, he, out of his good liking to the assembly, would have taken the voice of so many noblemen and gentlemen conducive for his service, if they would have had patience to have the right of their interrupted possessions restored to them by order.

This was answered by Rothes, Loudon, and others, and after many words, the commissioner protested, "that no act there should import his consent, and that nought done by the voices of the present members was lawful,"

lawful." He also discharged them from proceeding any further. Whilst he was going, lord Rothes gave to the clerk a protestation in writing, prepared for such an occurrence; and after a short speech from Argyle, which was thought, at the time, rather ambiguous, followed by an answer from Loudon and Rothes, the commissioner and counsellors departed.

The assembly, being now left to themselves, and consisting of only one party, resolved, at all hazards, to adhere to the protestation against the commissioner's departure, and to remain still to the end, till all things needful were concluded.

We have thought it proper to be particular in stating the various struggles and contests of the two parties. Our limits will not permit us to enter so minutely into the future proceedings, which we must therefore relate in a manner more general and concise.

Thursday, November 29th, was the eighth session. Argyle came back, and, although he was not a member of the assembly, was earnestly entreated by the moderator, to countenance their meetings, and bear witness to the righteousness of their proceedings. This,

to

to their great joy, he promised, and faithfully performed.

The assembly continued their sittings until the 26th of December inclusive, having in whole twenty-six sessions, or diets. During the eighteen sessions after the commissioner's departure, they reasoned and decided upon various important matters, of the chief of which, the following is a summary:—

1st. After considering the confession of faith, and how far it excluded or admitted the posterior innovations of the church, an ordinance or decree was passed, by which episcopacy and the articles of Perth were declared to have been abjured in the confession; and were of new removed, and abjured, as abuses and corruptions.

2d. The books of service, canons, ordination, and high commission, were, by four several decrees, abolished.

3d. An investigation was made, into the proceedings of the six immediately preceding assemblies, which were found to be corrupt, and were termed “the inbringers of the innovation, and causes of the divisions, and evils, under which the church laboured.” They were accordingly

cordingly declared to be null. And, from this declaration, were deduced as consequences; the freedom of all, from the oaths of conformity taken by the bishops; the restitution of presbyteries and assemblies to their rights, which, it was found, were never null, though for a time, by the violence and injustice of the bishops, suppressed; the validity of the admissions and depositions of ministers, passed lately by the presbyteries without the bishops' consent; and other consequences of a similar nature,—all of which were set down by way of acts.

4th. The bishops, and sundry ministers, were tried, and deposed, for professing the doctrines of arminianism, popery, and atheism; for urging the use of the liturgy, bowing to the altar, and wearing the *cope* and *rotchet*; for declining the assembly; and for being guilty of simony, avarice, profanity, adultery, drunkenness, and other infamous crimes. Among those deposed, were the bishops of Galloway, St. Andrew's, Brechin, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Ross, Glasgow, Argyle, and Dunblane, who were also excommunicated. Orkney was found guilty of profanity, simony, and other of the charges; but, having professed his dislike of the late innovations, and sent a letter of submission to the synod, was only deposed, and ordained to give tokens of repentance

penitance against a day appointed. The bishop of the Isles was deposed, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against him, to take place against a certain day, unless he gave the like tokens. Murray, not having been formally summoned, was not excommunicated. And Dunkeld, and Caithness, on account of their submission, received favour. Dunkeld was continued in his ministry at Semidores; and Caithness was to be re-admitted minister of some church, on giving satisfaction, or proofs of penitence.

5th. The covenant, being approved by a particular declaration, was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication; and copies were prepared, to be subscribed by the assembly and council. The Commissioner, a few days before the last sitting, transmitted to the assembly, a declaration on the same subject, which he proposed, should be adopted. That declaration having been referred to a committee, was, upon their report, rejected, because it was in terms directly opposite to the declaration previously agreed upon by the assembly; the one declaring, that, by the covenant, episcopacy, and the Perth articles, were sworn to be defended; the other, that, by that covenant, both were abjured.

6th. An

6th. An act was made against the civil power of churchmen, by which they were declared incapacitated to hold any place in parliament.

7th. Several ministers, and young noblemen, and barons, were appointed, not as commissioners for parliament, but as the assembly agents, to request the royal assent to their proceedings, and to petition a number of things in the name and behalf of the church; and a draught of a petition from the assembly to the king was read, approved, and ordered to be perfected, and presented.

“ Thus,” to use the language of a celebrated historian,” episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful: And the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground.” *

Besides the proceedings before enumerated, the assembly decreed a visitation to the old college of Aberdeen, upon the supplication of Mr. John Lundie, professor of Humanity, on account of abuses introduced by

K

the

* Hume's history of England.

the bishop—and another to the college of Glasgow, with power to depose such of the professors as had been deficient in duty, and to establish a professor of divinity. They were likewise employed, in appointing and transporting ministers to vacant parishes, and in fixing places for receiving penitent bishops. We find also, that they renewed the act of assembly against fishing on Sundays, and ordained an overture to be printed with regard to the Edinburgh and Glasgow markets on Monday; which were considered to be unavoidable profanations of the sabbath.

The last day of the assembly is said by principal Bailie to have been “a blyth day to all. In the end the moderator acknowledged the great goodness of God and the king; thanked much the town of Glasgow, and gave them a fair commendation for their care and pains to give the assembly all contentment; also Argyle, for the comfort of his assistance from the beginning to the end. Mr. John Row took up the cxxxiii. psalm, and the blessing being said, we all departed with great comfort and humble joy, casting ourselves, and our poor church, in the arms of our good God.”

So

So ended the labours of an assembly, which forms a memorable æra in the history of the Scots church. The firmness and resolution, the order and unanimity which pervaded and governed the whole of their procedure, were wonderful. Notwithstanding the opposition of the court, and the desertion of the commissioner, they continued to sit, to deliberate, and to resolve, upon matters of the highest consequence, in which they gave such decisions as could not fail to excite the displeasure, and even the vengeance of the king. And all this was done in the face of the dissolution pronounced by the commissioner; of an act which was drawn up the night of his departure, and proclaimed next day at the cross, discharging the assembly, under pain of treason; and of sundry proclamations and declarations, which were afterward framed by his grace, and published in Edinburgh.

In these proceedings, they were countenanced and assisted by the earl of Argyle, whose conduct in remaining among them, went much "against the stomach both of the commissioner and king." And, hence, the singular respect which his majesty had formerly entertained for that nobleman, was instantly converted into hatred and revenge.

Argyle's example, however, joined to the commissioner's quiet deportment, in the midst of the country where his power lay, wrought so upon the lords of the council, and others of the nobility, who had formerly stood out, that many of them, during the time of the assembly, and others, shortly thereafter, allied themselves to the covenants. *

Although in the western counties of Scotland, an enthusiastic zeal prevailed, for the reformation of religion, and for the subsequent abjuration of episcopacy, it does not appear, that the inhabitants of Glasgow were, by any means, so active in the cause, as their neighbours. This supineness may be attributed, partly to the veneration which they entertained for their metropolitan; but, chiefly, to a sense of interest, in respect of the temporal advantages, which they derived from the riches of the bishop, and clergy. This last consideration would, no doubt, have the effect, of retarding the progress of any desire in the citizens, for the abolition of the ancient religion; and of rendering them less eager for the destruction of an order of men, to whose existence, and influence, they were indebted, for the enjoyment of wealth, and consequent happiness.

* *Memoirs of bishop Guthrie.*

C H A P. 4.

Effects of this Revolution in the Church, as a prelude to the Civil Wars.—Account of these disorders.

THE petition from the assembly to the king, was entrusted to Mr. George Winram of Libberton, who set off for the court, on the ninth of January 1639, and was, with some difficulty, introduced to his majesty in council, by the marquis of Hamilton. His grace, on his knee, read the supplication, upon which, the king made this singular remark, “*When they have broken my head, they will put on my cowl!*” Mr. Winram staid many weeks for an answer, but received none. The king, however, sent a letter to his council in Scotland, (which was read, January the 29th) bearing, that for the better settling of Scottish matters, he would be at York against the first of April, and would call the Scots council to attend, and give him advice.

Meantime, the covenanters had reason to suspect, that the king's intention was very different from that of taking counsel. . They had received intelligence, that an oath had been exacted from their countrymen at court, by

by which they renounced the assembly, and promised their full assistance to the king, whenever he should require it; that his majesty, by a letter, published on the 26th January, had commanded all the nobles and gentry of England, to attend his royal standard at York, on the first of April, in order to oppose the Scots; and that the marquis of Huntly had been appointed the king's lieutenant in the north of Scotland, with great authority.

Alarmed at these accounts, but determined not to trust to supernatural assistance alone, of which, however, they held themselves well assured, they prepared to maintain and defend their religious tenets by military force. The leading members of the assembly, who had been appointed a standing committee, convened a general meeting at Edinburgh, on the twentieth of February, consisting of noblemen, and commissioners from the other estates. This meeting unanimously resolved upon the raising of an army, and Lesley, a soldier of experience and abilities, having been appointed general, the covenanters cast their eyes on all sides, abroad and at home, from whence any aid or support could be expected. Cardinal Richlieu, the politic and enterprising minister of France, irritated at Charles' answer to the

French

French Ambassador, with regard to the Low country provinces, carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland ; and, to encourage the covenanters in their opposition, supplied them secretly with money and arms. At home, William Dick, at that time the most considerable merchant in the country, was prevailed upon by flattery, and his own vain-glory, to advance them very great sums, at first, four hundred thousand merks Scots, and afterward much more. In return for these favours, the covenanters caused him to be made provost of Edinburgh ; but, by these advances, he was ruined, and in the end died a beggar. *

Supplied in this manner, the covenanters proceeded with vigour and abilities. The earl of Argyle became the chief leader of the party,—forces were regularly instructed and disciplined,—the castle of Edinburgh, and a few others, which belonged to the king, being unprovided with victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized,—the fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity,—and the whole country, except a small part, under the power of the marquis of Huntly,

* Guthry's Memoirs.

Huntly, being in the hands of the covenanters, was, in a very little time, put in a tolerable state of defence.

The king, on the other hand, though averſe to violent and ſanguinary meaſures, ſuffered his attachment to the hierarchy to prevail over his other paſſions; and haſtened his military preparations, for ſubduing the refractory ſpirit of Scotland. Having put 5000 land forces on board a fleet, entrusted to the marquis of Hamilton, with orders to ſail to the frith of Forth; and levied an army of near 20,000 foot, and above 3000 horſe, which was put under the command of the earl of Arundel, the king himſelf joined the army, attended by the peers of England; and in this ſituation, with the appearance of a ſpendid court, carrying more ſhew than force, the camp arrived at Berwick.

Thus commenced thoſe diſcontents and diſorders, which, though ſuppreſſed by the articles of pacification agreed upon at Berwick, and, ſubſequentlly, by the treaty of Rippon, were revived and continued; and, ending in an oppoſition betwixt the king and parliament, produced, in 1642, thoſe civil wars, that, for a long period, deluged this country with blood.

Before

Before the commencement of these disorders, James, earl of Montrose, returning from his travels, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, had been introduced to the king; but, by the insinuations of the marquis of Hamilton, had not been received with that distinction, to which he conceived himself entitled. Disgusted with this treatment, he joined the covenanters, and employed himself, with zeal, and success, in levying and conducting their armies. Having waited on the king, while the royal army lay at Berwick, he was gained over by the caresses of the monarch, devoted himself thenceforth to his service, and entered into a correspondence with him.

In the insurrection, after the treaty of Berwick, the covenanters entrusted to his command, two thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and his friends, the cadets and relations of his family, had the command of five thousand more. After passing the Tweed, his correspondence with the king was discovered by the covenanters; when, being accused of treachery, and of corresponding with the enemy, he openly avowed his conduct, and asked the generals, if they dared to call their sovereign a foe.

Uniting himself afterward to the royal party, he negotiated for Irish troops, to make a diversion in Scotland, with which he defeated Lord Elcho at Perth; and, being joined by the earl of Airly, and his two younger sons, attacked Lord Burley's army at Aberdeen, put them to flight, and did great execution upon them. In several other engagements he was still successful; and descending into the southern counties, in 1645, he gave battle at Kilfyth, to 7000 of the covenanters, under Lieut. general Bailie, in which the same good fortune attended him.

This memorable engagement happened on the 15th of August 1645. Six thousand of Bailie's troops were put to the sword; and, the greater part of the remaining 1000 being suffocated in the Dullater-bog, the covenanters were left, scarcely any remains of an army in Scotland, while Montrose suffered a very considerable loss. These repeated successes shook the whole kingdom, turned the minds of the wavering, and many who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared themselves openly.

The city of Glasgow, hearing that Montrose gave his troops two days rest at Kilfyth, sent Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerston, and Mr. Archibald Fleming, commissary,

missary, to congratulate his lordship on that signal victory; and, in the name of the magistrates, to invite him, and his army, to spend some days at Glasgow. He, accordingly, marched next day, with his army, to the city, where he was welcomed, and entertained with great solemnity. He received very graciously the apologies they made him, and took in good part their promises of better behaviour, and of attachment to the cause of his royal master.

Montrose remained only one night in Glasgow, on account of the plague, which was then raging, with great fury in the city. He encamped the next day at Bothwel. The magistrates of Edinburgh found it prudent, to send a deputation to him, at this place, in order to tender their submission, and loyalty to their sovereign, and to express their sorrow for being led into rebellion, to which they had been compelled, by the power and influence of the restless nobility. Several of the nobles, alarmed and terrified by Montrose's successes and signal victories, had by this time fled into England for safety, others had followed the earl of Argyle into Ireland, and some had retired into the Isles. Under these circumstances, the cities of Glasgow, and Edinburgh, acted prudentially, in saving themselves from

the plunder and sword of an illustrious conqueror, who made the whole nation tremble.

At Bothwel, in the castle on the banks of the Clyde, a piece of noble architecture, and a feat of the Cumings in the 13th century, Montrose, as lieutenant and governor of Scotland, received, for his prince, the homage of the remaining nobility, the greater part of whom, came on purpose to deceive him, and to mislead him into a snare. This they effected, by bewildering him and his army in the mountains, and deserting him, chieftain after chieftain, until they left him, with only a few faithful followers, ignorant of the country.

David Lesly had been detached, from the army in England, to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, in hopes of rousing some of the southern nobility who had promised to join him, and of obtaining from England a supply of cavalry. He was surpris'd by Lesly at Philiphaugh, in the forest; and, after a short conflict, his forces were routed by Lesly's cavalry,

Previous to this defeat which took place on the 13th September, 1645, Montrose, as the king's lieutenant, had proclaimed a parliament, to be held in Glasgow,
upon

upon the 20th of October. The committee of estates; and commission of the church, now resolved to go thither against that time; and sent orders to the western shires to attend their arrival. David Lesly, with one half of his horse, went along with them as a convoy, the other half being sent to Alloa, to destroy the lands of the earl of Marr, on account of the loyalty of that family.

Three of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh, viz. Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar, were executed at Glasgow; the first on the 28th, and the others on the 29th of October. Upon occasion of these executions, the Rev. Mr. David Dickson, then professor of divinity in Glasgow college, said, "*The work goes bonnily on,*" which passed into a proverb. The execution of the other prisoners was delayed till the sitting of the parliament, which had been called by the covenanters, to meet at St. Andrew's, on the 26th of November.

Montrose, in the meantime, had brought his main army towards Glasgow, which he did not enter, deterred, it is said, by the plague which still prevailed in the city. He remained in the neighbourhood for several days, expecting their coming out to give him battle; but

but, finding they had no intention of doing so, he returned with his army to Athol.

Lesly behaved with great civility to the citizens, though he jeeringly borrowed from them twenty thousand pounds Scots, as the interest, as he termed it, of the fifty thousand, which, it was alledged, they had lent to Montrose. At Lesly's approach, the ministers retired to the west country, and took refuge at Kilbarchan. Commissary Fleming, having remained, was imprisoned.

Digby and Langdale, who were to have opened the parliament which Montrose had summoned to meet at Glasgow, fled out of Lesly's way, as well as they could. Digby's coach was taken with most of his papers, which are said to have shewn that the king wished for peace on his own terms alone.

After the battle of Philiphaugh, in which Montrose experienced so sudden a reverse of fortune, it was imagined by many, that something was wrong on the part of the earl, at Bothwell, Glasgow, or Kilsyth. It is said, that the highlanders, under his command, were in a state of utter barbarity, and that his power over them and their chieftains, rested entirely on his masterly address. In the morning before the battle of Kilsyth,
an

an unfortunate chapman, coming over Take-me-down, fell in the way of Montrose's forces, and told them what he knew of general Bailie's army, and where he had seen them before he came over the hill. Notwithstanding this important information, an old highland feer, whose use was to inspire this savage band with courage before battle, in the manner of the ancient bards, insisted upon this poor chapman's death, as an offering to *Woden*, and an emblem of the blood of their enemies. He was instantly put to death, without ceremony; and, as if inspired with the blood of this itinerant victim, as a presage of good fortune, they attacked the covenanters, with so much fury, that it was not in the marquis' power to restrain their ardour.* The pursuit, to the westward, continued to Kirkintilloch on the south, and to Glorat on the north side of the Kelvin.—And to the eastward, where the army came from, their remains were chased to Stirling and Airth. This army, on their march from Fife, entertained a presentiment, that they should never return to their own country, and the fatal prognostic was but too well fulfilled.

The defeat, at Philiphaugh, was the commencement of the misfortunes of Montrose, as well as of his royal master. The latter, after various disasters, having, in the

* This story is given from tradition.

the beginning of May, 1646, escaped from Oxford, which was then besieged by Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliamentary forces, threw himself upon the mercy of the Scots army, encamped at Newark. Here he immediately found himself a prisoner, a guard having been set upon him, under colour of protection, though he was treated with every mark of exterior, but distant, respect. The Scottish generals and commissioners informed the English parliament, of the king's unexpected appearance; and his majesty was soon prevailed upon, to issue orders to his garrisons, to surrender to the parliament.

He was also constrained, to send a herald to Montrose, commanding him to lay down his arms, and to depart into France, there to wait his further pleasure. These injunctions were afterward renewed, and obedience required, under pain of high treason. Montrose, therefore, took farewell of his army, and went to a port in Angus, where, it had been agreed, a ship should be found for transporting him. Finding the master of this vessel a furious abettor of the covenanters, the earl, by the persuasion of his friends, retired into the highlands, and dispatched some of his servants to the ports in the north, in search of a vessel to carry off a few of his followers.

They

They found, at Stonehive, a small sloop from Bergen in Norway, in which these devoted few, failed for that port, on the 3d September. On the same night, the earl embarked at Montrose, (the place of his birth,) in the 34th year of his age, disguised as the servant of a worthy clergyman who accompanied him.

This year ended as it had begun, with bloodshed, famine, and pestilence. The latter, at this time, raged with fury in most of the towns in Scotland. In September it began to abate in Edinburgh and Leith. Aberdeen, Brechin, and other parts of the north, were miserably wasted. St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, were sorely threatened,—the schools and colleges were deserted,—but the mortality in these two places was not great.

The king remained in the hands of the covenanters, for nine months. During this period, the duke of Hamilton, the marquis of Argyle, Lauderdale, and the rest of the Scots commissioners at London, had frequent conferences with the English parliament, for advising what was next to be done, in reference to his majesty. The result was, to send English commissioners to the king, at Newcastle, whither he and the Scots army had

M

removed,

removed, with sundry propositions, to which his assent was required.

The commissioners having arrived at Newcastle, upon the twenty-fifth of July, presented the propositions to his majesty, entreating a speedy answer. The king, having considered the propositions, answered, "That unto many of them he should gladly accord, for peace's sake, but amongst them there were some, whereunto he could not assent, *unless he would un-king himself.*" Those to which his majesty excepted, were seven in number, the first of which was, that he should subscribe the *league and covenant*; and approve of the assembly of divines, and of the whole proceedings of both parliaments. The others tended chiefly to abridge the regal power, and to except from pardon, sundry persons who had favoured the royal cause.

His majesty moved the commissioners to divide the articles, and to accept satisfaction from him in those he could yield to. They replied "*All or none.*" Whereupon he told them, "That it was not his fault that they parted without accomodation, but their constituents, who had appointed them to press such things, as he could not consent to, without hurting his inward peace,

peace, which was dearer to him than life ; and therefore he behaved to dismiss them with a refusal, and take his hazard of what might follow."

The commissioners departed from Newcastle, upon August the 2d, and next day, the chancellor, the marquis of Argyle, and the earl of Dunfermline, offered to his majesty, to proceed to London, and treat with the parliament, for a mitigation of the articles. Whether the king trusted them is doubtful, but the royalists hesitated not to say, *That their treating would end in a bargain.*

This opinion was fully verified. After fundry conferences of the commissioners on both sides, it was concluded, that the Scots should receive 200,000l. sterling in hand, and public faith for as much more, to be paid at certain terms, on condition they would withdraw their army, and surrender the king without any conditions for him. *

Accordingly, on the 28th of January, 1647, the king was delivered up, or rather sold, † to the parliament's commissioners, who conducted him to *Holdenby*, or

M 2

Holmby-

* Gushy's memoirs

† Rapin. Hume.

Holmby-house, in Northamptonshire. He was soon after taken from *Holmby*, and carried to the army, by cornet Joyce, who, from being a tailor before the war, had become a commissioned officer, and had signalized himself by his bravery. But *Cromwell*, whose great design was, to hinder any conjunction between the king and the presbyterians, conducted him to Hampton-court. From thence, with the connivance, as it is thought, of *Cromwell*, he made his escape, and went to the Isle of Wight, where he was received by colonel Hammond, and lodged in Carisbrook castle.

In the interim, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, at the head of the parliamentary forces, had gained several victories over the king's army, and the garrisons, and fortified places, had surrendered to the parliament. The victors, however, being divided into two parties, under the names of independents and presbyterians, began to quarrel among themselves; and the result of these animosities, was a mutiny in the army, which marched against, and subdued the parliament. It was in consequence of this meeting, and for the safety of his person, that the king fled from Hampton-court.

A few

A few days after this flight, a meeting of the general officers of the army was held, at Windsor, when it was resolved, that his majesty should be prosecuted, as a criminal. The parliament, and the army, were now united against the king; but, notwithstanding this conjunction, they could not enjoy their power and authority without great disturbance and opposition; and tumults and insurrections, combinations and conspiracies, increasing every where, brought on, in 1648, a second civil war.

Scotland, although it had given to the king's cause, the first fatal disaster, now promised it support and assistance. The independents had taken every occasion of mortifying the Scots. The subjection of the parliament, and the confinement of the king, seemed to threaten the overthrow of presbytery. These, and other grievances, were complained of by the Scots; and the violence done to his majesty, were considered as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his person. They agreed, therefore, to arm themselves in his favour, and prepared for an invasion of England.

In these preparations, they were disturbed by discontents and animosities among themselves. Forces were ordered to be levied, and each district being required

to furnish a particular quota, the clergy took an active part in opposing the levy. Though adhering to their original principles, and resolving to support a mixed government, they dreaded the restoration of monarchy would take place without the establishment of presbytery in England. Excited by their discourses, several of the burghs, and shires, were extremely backward, and even refractory, in providing their contingent of troops. The town of Glasgow having been among the number of these contumacious burghs, the magistrates and council were summoned to answer to the parliament for their conduct. Although the fault was common to them, with the greater part of the kingdom, they were imprisoned, and detained for several days. And having professed scruples of conscience, with regard to promoting the levy, they were also deprived of their offices, by an act of parliament, dated 10th June, 1648, and a commission was sent to the old council, authorising them to elect new magistrates.

The council met on the 13th of June, and the act of parliament being produced, was ordered to be published at the market-cross. The next day being fixed for the election, Colin Campbell was chosen provost, and John Anderson, James Tran, and William Neilson, bailies.

The

The council was made up, of those who had served as counsellors, in the year 1645.

Principal Bailie, in giving an account of this occurrence, says, "But this is not all our misery. Before this change, some regiments of horse and foot were sent to our town, with orders to quarter on no other but the magistrates, council, session, and their lovers. These orders were executed with rigour. On the most religious people of our town, huge burdens did fall. On some ten, on some twenty, and on others thirty soldiers, and more did quarter; who, beside meat and drink, wine, and good cheer, and whatever they called for, did exact cruelly their daily pay, and much more. In ten days they cost a few honest, but mean people, 40,000 l. *Scots*, beside plundering of these whom necessity forced to flee from their houses. Our loss and danger was not so great by *James Graham**."

The magistrates and council, who were thus displaced, were restored to their offices, by an act of the committee of estates, as having been unjustly ejected †.

The clergy, in their opposition to the levy, were
guided

* The marquis of Montrose. † 27th September, 1648.

guided by Argyle, and various disputes upon that head occurred betwixt the commission of the church and the parliament. The former insisted, that, previous to the raising of an army, the church should get some satisfaction, and that an oath of association should be taken, for pursuing the ends of the covenant. The chief articles of this oath were, that except the king should first subscribe and swear the covenants, it was not lawful for any to attempt his restitution; that popery, prelacy, erastianism, and all sects, should be extirpated; and that these articles, with the others contained in the oath, should be added to the coronation-oath of his majesty, and of all his successors. The parliament appointed a committee to confer with the commission of the church, and in the meantime pursued measures for furthering the levy.

The army being completed, prepared, in the beginning of July, to leave Scotland. Principal Bailie says, "It was the greatest that went from Scotland, since the beginning of the troubles, though far from the number, as I conceive, of 22,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, which common report made them. Never an army was so great charge to the country. The foot soldier, or his levy money, clothes and arms, cost generally 100 pounds Scots,—the horsemen 300 merks,—and their free quartering

tering, being an unlimited plundering of many very good and pious people. Our state has now found, which scarcely could have been believed, that, contrary to the utmost endeavours of the church, and all friends, they can raise and maintain an army, and do what they will, at home and abroad."

Upon Saturday, July 8th, the army marched forward to England, and, the next day, had the town of Carlisle delivered up to them.

At this period, a general spirit of discontent pervaded the two kingdoms. The people found themselves under a military tyranny, which roused their indignation; and loaded with a multiplicity of new and intolerable taxes, which excited complaint. The same spirit had seized the English fleet; and the whole country exhibited a scene of the most melancholy and dismal nature; full of tumult, insurrection, and confusion, and of the jarring, distrust, and rancour of party.

The parliament of England was so greatly overawed, that the Scots were declared to be enemies, and all those who joined with them traitors. Preparations were made by Cromwell, and the military council, for a vigorous defence. The army establishment was augmented, and

several advantages were gained by the parliamentary forces, over those of the royalists, in England and Wales. The marquis of Hamilton, one of the leaders of the moderate presbyterians, having entered England, at the head of a numerous, but undisciplined army, was attacked by Cromwell, near Preston in Lancashire, his forces routed, and himself taken prisoner. Cromwell, following his advantage, marched with a considerable body into Scotland, joined Argyle, and having suppressed the moderate party, placed the power in the hands of the violent covenanters.

These successes, with others which immediately followed; increased the power and influence of Cromwell. He prevailed with the council of general officers, to present a remonstrance to the parliament, demanding, among other things, the punishment of the king, for the blood spilt during the war. His majesty was immediately seized, and confined; and, after a public trial, was beheaded on the 30th January, 1649, an event too well known, to require any particular detail.

To the death of the king succeeded the abolition of monarchy, and of the house of peers; and the establishment of the commonwealth.

Thus

Thus, we have exhibited the effects of the re-establishment of presbytery, by the general assembly of 1638, as shewn in the history of the civil wars, in which the covenanters bore a principal share, down to the martyrdom of the unfortunate Charles. We cannot better express ourselves upon this memorable occurrence, than by quoting the words of the elegant historian, Hume, in drawing the character of this monarch. “Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently toward liberty. And, if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since, even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed, without revenue, without arms, to the assault of furious, implacable, and bigoted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condition too rigorous to be imposed on the greatest human capacity.”

We proceed with a continuation of our history, during the commonwealth.

C H A P. 5.

The subject continued.—The commonwealth.—The restoration.—Episcopacy re-established in 1660.

THE whole authority in Scotland, was, at this period, in the hands of Argyle, and the covenanters, a party, which was most inimical to the interests of royalty. In their political conduct, however, they embraced opposite maxims, in consequence of their enmity to the independents, their respect to the covenant, by which they had engaged, to defend the monarchical government, and their doubts with regard to the expediency of the republican system. Upon the vacancy of the throne, by the execution of the king, (against which they had always protested,) they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II. but upon condition of his good behaviour, and strict observance of the covenant,

Commissioners were sent to Charles, then at Breda. After a conference, in which he found that he had no resource, he agreed to the terms which had been proposed to him. To this he had been advised by his friends; but what chiefly determined him, was the account brought to him of the fate of Montrose. That nobleman, who had retired into France, and proceeded from thence to Germany,

many, received from his young master a renewal of his commission, as captain-general of Scotland. Having gathered followers in the north of Germany, and received supplies from the king of Denmark, and others, he set out for the Orkneys, with about 500 men. In this expedition he expected to be joined by the highlanders; but was disappointed. The committee of estates sent a considerable force against him; and, being unexpectedly fallen upon by a body of cavalry under the command of colonel Strachan, his army were put to flight, and all killed, or taken prisoners. Montrose himself, in the disguise of a peasant, was delivered up to his enemies by a pretended friend, in whom he had confided.

He was now carried to Edinburgh, and there he experienced every insult and degradation which rage and success could instigate. Being carried before the parliament, where he made a most animated answer to a violent declamation of Loudon the chancellor, sentence of death was pronounced against him; and he was accordingly executed upon May 21st, 1650, in the 38th year of his age.

Upon the 23d June following, the king, in consequence of an agreement with the commissioners from Scotland, set sail for that country. He arrived in the frith of Cromarty, and was required, before landing, to sign
the

the covenant. He afterward published such a declaration as was agreeable to these austere zealots, and consented to submit to the indignity of a public humiliation.

The English parliament now made preparations for a war with Scotland; and Cromwell was dispatched to invade the country with an army of 16,000 men, after having been declared captain-general of the forces in England. He advanced to the Scottish army under Lesley, then entrenched in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith; but, his endeavours to bring Lesley to a battle proving fruitless, and being reduced to difficulties, by the want of provisions, he retired to Dunbar.

Lesley followed, and encamped on the heights of Lamermuir. Cromwell was now hampered in such a manner, that he would have been obliged to get away by sea, had not the fanaticism of the Scots forfeited the advantages which they had obtained. Their ministers, by prayer, exhortation, and prophecy, instigated them to go down, *and slay the Philistines in Gilgal**, assuring them of success, and that *Agag*, meaning Cromwell, would be delivered into their hands†. They quitted their ground accordingly, in spite of Lesley's remonstrances. When Oliver saw them in motion, he exclaimed, " Praised be the Lord,

* Smollet.

† Hume.

Lord, he hath delivered them into the hands of his servant!" and ordered his troops to sing a psalm of thanksgiving, while they advanced in order to the plain. The Scots, though double in number to the English, were put to the flight, and pursued with great slaughter, about 3000 being slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. The remnant of the army escaped to Stirling.

This engagement happened, 3d September, 1650. Cromwell, pursuing his advantage, took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. But the approach of winter, and a violent fit of the ague, prevented him from pursuing the victory any further. He remained sometime in Edinburgh, endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the people; and then marched peaceably, by the way of Kilfyth, to Glasgow.

Concerning this important march, tradition gives the following story.—The city was still divided into two factions, presbyterians and sectaries; the former being royalists, the latter republicans. One of these parties sent intelligence to Cromwell, that his entry into Glasgow would be attended with the loss of his army; as, in their road to the city, they behoved to pass the castle, the vaults of which were filled with gun-powder, ready to be blown
up,

up, at their approach, in order to destroy them. Whether this intelligence was right or not, he prudently turned to the right, and entered the city by the way of Cowcaddens and Cow-loan. He took up his lodgings in Silvercraig's house, on the east side of the Saltmarket. Here he sent for a person, of whom he heard notice as a leading man among the people, received him courteously, treated him with a good supper, and a long prayer; and sent him away so well pleased, that he reported to the gaping multitude, his firm belief, that *the general was surely one of the elect.*

This served as an approach to the fortress, *the clergy*, who had for many years ruled the roast, and governed their hearers in their duty to the church and state.—The presbyterians, at this time, were in power. Cromwell, however, knew how to conquer without the sword; and, in order to fight them at their own weapons, went in state, to the cathedral church. Here it so happened, that the celebrated paraphrast, Mr. Zacharias Boyd, preached in the forenoon, and railed so bitterly against Cromwell, that his secretary, Thurloe, asked leave, in a whisper, “*to pistol the scoundrel.*” No, no, says the general, we will manage him in another way.—In the evening he asked the clergy to sup with him, and concluded

eluded the entertainment with a prayer, which, it is said, lasted till three in the morning.

Upon Cromwell's approach to the city, the magistrates and part of the ministers, fled. "I," says principal Bailie, "got to the isle of Cumbray, with the lady Montgomery, but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great. He took such a course with his soldiers, that they did less displeasure at Glasgow, than if they had been at London. I took this extraordinary favour, from their coming alone to gain the people, and to please *Strachan*, with whom he was keeping correspondence; and by whom he had great hopes to draw over the western army, at least to a cessation with him."

At this time there lay in the west a considerable body of cavalry, which had been raised by an association of the chief gentlemen, and clergy, of the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Clydesdale, (or Lanark,) Renfrew, and Galloway. The command of this force was entrusted to four colonels, viz. *Kerr*, *Strachan*, *Robin Halket*, and Sir *Robert Adair*. *Strachan*, the person mentioned by Bailie, was a man of singular character. He had led a very dissolute life; and, after his amendment, he inclined very much toward the sectaries. "The labours of Guthrie
and

and Gillespie brought him to give satisfaction to the kirk, for all the scandals known against him. His eminent services against *James Graham*, and others, got him the church's extraordinary favour, to be helped with 100,000 merks, out of their purses, for the mounting him a regiment, the greatest offering which the churchmen made at one time*."

The appointment of such a person to a command in the Scottish army, was equal to the wishes of the designing Cromwell, who accordingly entered into a correspondence with Strachan; and this intercourse being accompanied by money, and other powerful motives, was the means of enabling the latter to throw the whole army, and committee of the west, into confusion, and to render the army, as Bailie expresses it, "altogether useless." By these, and other means, Cromwell's influence in this country was considerably extended.

His army, at this time, were for the most part independents; and, among them, were some quakers, of whom, the churchmen, of those days speak with abhorrence, and say, they were possessed with devils.—The profelytes they made in this city, and neighbourhood, built

* Bailie,

built a place of worship, entering by a lane on the south side of Cannon-street, at the back of lord Dundonald's garden. It stands due north and south, in the manner they inter their dead. This sect, who were once numerous, are now reduced to a few; and their meeting-house, in which the beautiful *May Drummond*, used to preach in the course of her circuits, and where she commanded the attention of people of almost every rank and description, is now converted into a weaver's shop.

Cromwell spent some time at Glasgow, and to very good purpose. Principal Gillespie was his fast friend, and privy counsellor; and, in several negotiations, managed so well for Cromwell, that he became master of the south of Scotland, without drawing the sword, except at the battle of Dunbar. His army now enjoyed a short respite from their fatigues*.

Great part of Cromwell's troops consisted of tradesmen; a number of whom having settled here, brought the

O 2

arts

* On the north side of the road from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and nearly opposite to Carmyle, is a rivulet, with a small island in the middle, planted with larches, called *Cromwell's watering pond*. To this place his cavalry were walked out every day, during his stay in Glasgow.

arts to a degree of perfection before unknown in this country. And it is to the large garrison he left at Ayr, that the inhabitants of that county are indebted, for their superiority over their neighbours in agriculture. To curb the people, large fortifications were erected, which cost immense sums. These, together with the pay of a numerous army, produced a very considerable circulation of cash in the country. His stay and influence in Scotland were also attended with the salutary consequence, of preventing our furnishing a proportion of the militia levy, for the expedition to England, in the latter end of 1651, when a great part of the Scottish army fell under the victorious arms of Cromwell, at the battle of Worcester, of which we shall speak in its proper place. Perhaps the recollection of the fate of the army of loyalists, in 1648, under the duke of Hamilton, in Lancashire, with the capture of that nobleman, and his tragical end on the scaffold, had also a strong influence on the minds of the people, and contributed to deter them from engaging in a second expedition, after the unfortunate issue of the first.

Cromwell, during his residence in Scotland, engaged in a paper war against the Scots clergy, and wrote them some polemical letters, maintaining the principal doctrines

doctrines of the independent theology. In these, he retorted upon them their favourite argument of providence, and affirmed, that, in his late successes, the Lord had declared in his favour.

The defeat which the Scots experienced at Dunbar, was regarded by the king, as a favourable event, as both parties were almost equally his enemies, and the vanquished were now compelled to give him more authority. The parliament was summoned to meet at St. Johnston or Perth, and the ceremony of his coronation was resolved upon.

Previous to the fitting of the parliament, principal Gillespie called a *solemn meeting* at Glasgow, consisting of gentlemen and officers; and, in a separate room of the tolbooth, there was a meeting of ministers, who called themselves *the presbytery of the western army*. A remonstrance, concerning the propriety of treating with Cromwell, was laid, by the ministers, before the other meeting, for subscription, but was generally declined. At this meeting, the temporizing Strachan was commanded to go no more to the army; but this order he expressly refused to obey. A motion was thereupon made for confining him, in order to prevent his joining Cromwell;

Cromwell; but this was over-ruled, lest it should give offence to *Kerr, and many others*, in the western army. A number of the inferior officers were suspected to have been tampered with by Strachan, and some were cashiered.

Principal Gillespie, and others, were very industrious, about this time, in exclaiming, wherever they went, that “a hypocrite (meaning the king) ought not to reign over us; that we ought to treat with Cromwell, and give him security not to trouble England with a king; and that whoever marred this treaty, the blood of the slain, in the quarrel, should be upon their heads*.”

Meanwhile, the state sent colonel Montgomery, with his forces, to join the cavalry of the western army, in order to make an attack on the English, then lying at Hamilton. He sent notice of his commission to Kerr; and, on his march toward Glasgow, arrived upon the night of Sunday, December 23d, at Campsie. Kerr, however, (who was the only officer of the western army, uncorrupted by Cromwell and Strachan,) was determined to prevent Montgomery's approach; and resolved, with his own troops, consisting of above 1500, or, as some

* Bailie.

some say, 3000, to attack the English, who were in number 1200, with 3000 horse under Lambert.

This attack was made on Saturday, December 1st, at four in the morning, and, by some supposed treachery, the English were prepared for it. Lieutenant-colonel Ralston, with a small party of horse, entered Hamilton, and most gallantly carried all before him, clearing the town of the English, and killing several. Kerr, with fewer than 200, seconded him; but, at the end of the town, the English drew up again in the field of battle, and Kerr, finding it difficult to pass, was obliged to retreat for a little. That part of his army, which remained behind, taking this for a flight, turned their backs; the rest followed; and the English pursued as far as Paisley and Kilmarnock. About twenty only were killed, and not more than eighty taken prisoners, whereof Kerr himself made one. The next day, two or three hundred, who rallied in Kyle, were disbanded by Strachan's persuasion.

This miscarriage increased the power of Cromwell, whose army overspread the country without opposition, destroying cattle and corn, putting Glasgow, and other places, under grievous contributions*.

The

* Bailie.

The king's coronation took place at Scone, on January 1st, 1651, and was performed with great solemnity. The royal party considered this as the work of God; for it was Cromwell's intention to have prevented it by arms. The king swore to the covenant, the league and covenant, and the coronation oath; and received an exhortation, to observe with sincerity the oaths he had taken, accompanied by a denunciation of plagues against him, in the event of failure.

Charles, notwithstanding his coronation, found himself little better than a prisoner, and exposed to great rudeness and indignity from the clergy. He made an attempt, therefore, to escape to general Middleton, then in the mountains, at the head of a party of royalists; but, being pursued, and overtaken, by colonel Montgomery, he returned, and experienced better treatment.

The Scots army being assembled under Hamilton and Lesley, the king joined them, and encamped at the Torwood. Being soon reduced to difficulties, in consequence of the movements of Cromwell, he resolved to march into England; and accordingly his army, to the amount of 14,000 men, advanced by great journies toward the south.

Cromwell

Cromwell wrote immediately to the English parliament, to turn out the militia to oppose these invaders; and, leaving general Monk, with 7000 men, to complete the reduction of Scotland; he followed the king, and arrived, by swift marches, in England, where he contributed, by his presence, to enforce the parliamentary orders. His army increasing to 30,000 men, he fell upon Worcester, on the 3d September, 1651, and attacking it upon all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. Hamilton was mortally wounded; the king, after many acts of gallantry and valour, was obliged to fly; and the whole Scots army was either killed or taken prisoners. The streets of the city were strewn with dead bodies; and the few who escaped from the field of battle, were pursued by the country people with scythes and pitch-forks, and fell victims to national antipathy.

The king escaped, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends, and secreted himself, for forty-one days, in various parts of the country. In the course of his concealments, he mounted an oak tree, afterward called *the royal oak*, where he sheltered himself for twenty-four hours, though several soldiers passed, who were intent in searching for him. At last he embarked at Shoreham, in Sussex, and arrived at Fescamp, in Normandy.

The Scots were now entirely subdued under Monk. That general laid siege to Stirling castle, and obliged it to surrender. He there obtained possession of the records of the kingdom, which he sent to England. He soon afterward possessed himself of Dundee, Aberdeen, and several other towns and forts, at the first of which places, he, in order to strike general terror, put the inhabitants to the sword. English judges were appointed to determine causes in the Scottish courts; justice was strictly administered*; and the whole country was put into a state of severe and complete subordination.

After the dissolution of the long parliament, in 1653, Cromwell was appointed protector of the kingdom, and a deed, called the instrument of government, was prepared and voted. By that instrument, the protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with powers little short of the regal authority. He was to enjoy the office during life; and, upon his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council.

* It has been said, that the decisions of the English judges were more agreeable to the spirit and principles of the law of Scotland, than the previous decisions of the judges of this country. A young lawyer made this observation to a Scots judge, who died many years ago, and received this very curious and singular answer: "*De'il mean them, they had neither kith nor kin in this country. Take that out of the way, and I think I could be a good judge myself.*"

We now proceed to a detail of circumstances, some of which relate immediately to the history of Glasgow, and others to the state of Scotland in general.

In the month of July 1653, a dreadful fire had consumed a great proportion of the lower part of the city. In consequence of this lamentable occurrence, applications for assistance were made, not only to the council of the commonwealth, but also to all the foreign presbyterian congregations in Europe, who had formerly seconded that sect in Scotland and England, in their endeavours to establish their religious liberties. Contributions were accordingly made, and remitted from various quarters; and principal Baillie, in acknowledging the receipt of a comfortable supply from a presbyterian congregation at London, expresses himself in the following terms, which show the distress of the inhabitants, as well as their gratitude for the favour: “For this charitable supply to this distressed people, all of us are much obliged to bless God in your behalf, who has made you instrumental in procuring a liberal support, both from your congregation, and from all the city of London, to the many families in this wrecked people, with that strangest fire that ever was heard of in our land,”

On the 20th day of the same month, the General Assembly being met at Edinburgh, lieutenant colonel Cotterell beset the church in which they had met, with some companies of horse and foot; and, informing them, that his orders were to dissolve them, commanded them to follow him, otherwise he threatened to drag them out of the room. Under protestation, they rose and followed him. He led them through the streets of Edinburgh, and to the distance of a mile from the city, "all the people gazing and mourning, as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen*." They were then prohibited from meeting again in any place above three in number, and ordered against eight o'clock next morning to depart the city, under the pain of imprisonment. "Thus," says principal Baillie, "our General Assembly, the glorious strength of our church upon earth, is by the English soldiery, crushed and trod under foot, without the least provocation from us at this time, in either word or deed."

In the following year, 1654, the parliament of England gave commission to the English judges and sequestrators in Scotland, to place and remove ministers of churches, and professors in universities, as they should see cause. The exercise of this power produced to the presbyterians

* Baillie.

great concern. Mr. Patrick Gillespie was appointed principal of Glasgow college, and the calls of a few remonstrants and independents, in favour of ministers, were always attended to, though opposed by a greater number of presbyterians.

At this period, the whole country appears to have been in a miserable situation, of which the following description is given by principal Baillie: "Our nobility are ruined: Dukes Hamilton, the one executed, the other slain; their estate forfeited; one part of it gifted to English soldiers; what remains will not pay the debt; little left to the heir; almost the whole name undone with debt. Huntley executed; his sons all dead, except the youngest—there is more debt on the house than the land can pay. Lennox is living as a man buried, in the house of Cobham. Douglas, and his son Angus, are quiet men, of no respect. Argyle almost drowned in debt, in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country. He courts the remonstrants, who were and are averse from him.—Chancellor Loudon lives like an outlaw about Athol; his lands, comprised for debt, under a general very great disgrace. Marischal, Rothes, Eglinton, and his three sons, Crawford, Lauderdale, and others, prisoners in England; and their lands all either
sequestered

sequestrated estates, or forfeited, and gifted to English soldiers. Balmerino suddenly dead, and his son, for public debt, comprifings, and captions, *keeps not the causeway*. Warriston, having refunded much of what he had got for places, lives privily in a hard enough condition, much hated by the most, and neglected by all, except the remonstrants, to whom he is guide. Our criminal judicatories are all in the hands of the English; our civil courts also; only some of the remonstrants are adjoined with them. The commissariat and sheriff courts are all in the hands of English soldiers, with the adjunction, in some places, of some few remonstrants. Strong garrisons in Leith, Edinburgh town and castle, Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumbarton, Stirling, Linlithgow, Perth, Dundee, Bruntisland, Dunnottar, Aberdeen, Inverness, Inverary, Dunstaffage," &c.

In another place, he says, "The commonalty are oppressed with the English army. Strange want of money upon want of trade; and, what is worse, the English possess it. Victual is cheap. We are in want of justice; without baron-courts; our sheriffs have little skill, being in general English soldiers; our Lords of session, being a few, inexperienced *in our law*." He mentions also several violences committed on the liberty of the subject;
and,

and, among others, the transportation and sale of a number of our countrymen, who had remained prisoners in England since the fatal battle of Worcester*.

Supplementary to this melancholy picture, we may mention, that, in the synod of Glasgow, disputes having arisen betwixt the presbyterians and independents, the former withdrew from the meeting, and formed a separate synod. The independents, however, continued to meet, in what was called by the other party, the anti-synod, and named several committees, with powers to place and remove ministers. The presbyterians also appointed committees for the same purposes; and these committees having acted in opposition to each other, produced considerable confusion. In consequence of these disorders, the communion was not celebrated in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, &c. for a number of years.

Amidst all these jarrings, the temporal interests of the country were not altogether forgotten. In the year 1655, principal Gillespie went to London, as a deputy from the

* So late as the year 1747, the practice of kidnapping and transporting was a profitable business, in the hands of the mayor and aldermen of the English corporations. The Scots were not behind-hand with their English neighbours, in this abominable traffic in human flesh.

college of Glasgow, and prevailed with the protector to make a donation in favour of the college, of the superiorities which belonged to the see of Galloway, and of 2900 merks per annum, out of the customs of Glasgow, for the support of bursars of their own nomination, beside an allowance to the town, for the use of the poor, who had been injured by the fire in 1653. For this service, the city gave Mr. Gillespie a gratuity of thirty pieces. He stated his expences, however, during the half year in which he had been employed in that business, at 250 l. sterling, a considerable sum in those days. He had received from Cromwell 100 l. sterling, and the college voted him 3000 merks Scots, besides 1000 merks for books which he had purchased for the library, 1000 merks for other disbursements, and his salary of 2000 merks.

Notwithstanding these allowances, he was thought to be no gainer, as he had lived sumptuously in London, in order to maintain the dignity of his character, not only as principal of the college, but as the friend and counsellor of the protector. He had been highly caressed at court, had preached in the chapel before his highness, and returned loaded with many promises of favour. But the service he had done to the college, was
not

not so well received by the presbyterians, when they found it accompanied by an order to the English judges, not to allow any stipend to intrant ministers, except those who had the testimony of a certain number of the remonstrants, at the time of their appointment; an injunction, which was strongly opposed by the greater part of the synods in Scotland. About this time, the presbyterians complained much of the intrusion of sectaries, and that even the quakers were allowed to rail on the ministers, in the face of their congregations, on the sabbath-day, without being punished.

Public prayer for the king being prohibited, the presbyterian clergy had several conferences with general Monk, with a view to obtain liberty to pray for their monarch. This was opposed by principal Gillespie, and the remonstrants. In consequence of that opposition, and the power exercised by the remonstrants, in supplying churches, a paper war ensued betwixt the parties, and many disputes took place in the spiritual courts.

Of the mode followed by the remonstrants, in placing and removing ministers, principal Baillie gives, among others, the following instances: They removed Mr. James Ramsay from the parish of Lenzie or Kirkintilloch,

where

where he had given general satisfaction; and they deposed Mr. Archibald Dennistoun of Campsie. In one of these parishes, they placed one of mean parts, a Mr. Henry Forsyth, *lately a baxter boy*, "*a little very feckless like thing in his person, and mean in his gifts;*" and, in the other, Mr. James Law, who, says Baillie, "was within these three years brought from a *pottinger* to be laureat." In Rutherglen, they forced from his pastoral office, old Mr. Robert Young, and placed "*a little manikin of small parts, whom I never saw.*" In Glasgow, Mr. Andrew Gray, being lately dead, the magistrates, as patrons, wished to call Mr. James Law from Campsie; Mr. Durham, however, at the head of the remonstrants, brought in, without the ordinary trials, Mr. Robert M'Ward, formerly a professor in the university, but who had resigned on account of infirmities.

Of the state of the country in the year 1656, we extract from Baillie the following account: "Our state is in a very silent condition; strong garrisons over all the land, and a large standing army, for which there is no service at all: our nobles lying in prison, and under forfeitures, and debts, private or public, are, for the most part, bankrupt: the president, Broghill, is reported by all to be a wife and moderate man, and, by profession, a presbyterian. He has
gained

gained more on the affections of the people, than all the English that ever were among us. He has been very civil to Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Dickson, and very intimate with Mr. James Sharp. By this means we have an equal hearing in all we have ado with the council; yet their way is exceeding tedious; every thing must be done first at London. All the advocates are returned to the bar. The great seal of Scotland, with Cromwell's large statue on horseback: *Oliverius, Dei gratia, reip. Angliæ, Scotia, et Hiberniæ, protector*, under the arms of Scotland, *pax queritur bello*, is given to Desborough; the signet, with the great fees of the secretary's place, to colonel Lockhart; the registers to judge Smith; and the rest of the places of state to others. The expenses, delays, and oppressions in law suits, are spoken of to be as great as ever."

"The Spanish war has wrecked many of our merchants, although, in God's mercy, as little loss has befallen our neighbours of this town, as on any in the isle. The taxes with us are great. It is said the excise will be double; so that the revenue will be above 300,000 l. sterling per year, the half whereof is never in the country at one time. Our town, in its proportion, thrives above any in the land. The word of God

is well loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought, and we desire; yet in no town of our land better. Our people have much more trade in comparison than any other. Their buildings increase strangely, both for number and fairness. The city is more than doubled in our time.

“The king is so far forgot here, that few or none keep any correspondence with him, in so much, that his friends do not know what he intends, or what he is about. If men, however, of lord Broghill’s parts be among us, they will make the present government more beloved than some men wish.”

At this time, we find principal Gillespie warmly interested in favour of the English government under Cromwell, and highly censured for countenancing the English circuit courts, and for preaching before the judges.

On Sunday the 17th of August 1656, at four in the morning, a shock of an earthquake was felt through all parts of the city. Five or six years preceding, there had been another more sensibly felt, which was followed by the great fire already mentioned. These were considered as judgments too well deserved,

Cromwell

Cromwell did not long enjoy his new dignity of protector. Notwithstanding his elevation to that station, and the success of his arms abroad, he enjoyed but little satisfaction; perpetual uneasiness and inquietude attended him, in consequence of the situation of affairs at home. The royalists were engaged in plans of conspiracy and insurrection. He was apprehensive of assassinations, and distrustful of every person around him. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured; and society and solitude were to him equally uncomfortable. The contagion of his mind affected his body, and his health declining, he was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. The symptoms having assumed a fatal aspect, a deputation was sent from the council, in order to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses, however, were gone; and, when he was asked, whether he intended that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship, a simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, 1658, he expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

For the character of Cromwell, we refer our readers to the celebrated historian, Mr. Hume, who justly describes him, as possessing great courage, signal military

tary talents, eminent dexterity, and addrefs. We have only, in addition, to remark, that Cromwell was poffeffed of fome degree of liberality, which he exercifed in the encouragement of literature; an inftance of which we have in the following anecdote.

The front of the college of Glaſgow was begun in the reign of Charles I. who ſubſcribed 100 l. ſterling, toward defraying the expenſe; but, as this happened only a ſhort time before the civil wars, the ſubſcription was not paid in the life-time of that monarch. When Cromwell was in Glaſgow, he viſited the college, upon which occaſion, one of the profeſſors turned up to him the king's ſubſcription, and gave a modeſt hint, that the payment of it would be acceptable; Cromwell immediately gave a draught for the money. The ſequel of this anecdote may probably be thought entertaining. Sometime afterward, one of the bailies of Perth who happened to be introduced to Cromwell, informed him, that the king had ſubſcribed a conſiderable ſum, toward the expenſe of erecting ſome public work in that town, and, with leſs modeſty than had been diſplayed in the former inſtance, he *demande*d payment of the money. Cromwell, however, obſerving that the building, for which the king had ſubſcribed, was not intended for a public

public seminary, and probably suspecting, that another exertion of generosity might subject him to a number of demands of the same nature, answered abruptly, "*I am not Charles' executor.*" The bailie, not intimidated by this answer, replied, "*Deil care, ye're a vitious intrmitter with his goods and gear.*" But this reply had no effect upon Cromwell, who did not understand the meaning of this phrase, which is peculiar to the Scots law; and it was lucky for the bailie, that it was so unintelligible, otherwise he might have met with the punishment due to his temerity.

Upon Cromwell's death, the succession of his son Richard was immediately recognised. The government of Ireland was entrusted to Henry, Richard's brother, and Monk was continued in his authority in Scotland. Richard, a young man of no experience, of moderate, unambitious character, did not possess the qualifications necessary for his important situation. In consequence of certain cabals in the army, a rupture was produced betwixt the parliament and the military, which was followed by the dissolution of parliament, on the 22d of April, 1659, and soon after by the demission of the protector. The *rump*, or long parliament, which had dethroned Charles I. was now restored. The presbyterians, and the royalists, equally

equally disdaining it, united to destroy it. A general conspiracy was formed in the nation; and if this combination had not been betrayed, the event seemed infallible. The parliament being apprised of the plot, Lambert, by their orders, soon destroyed all the resources of the royalists; and Monk, in Scotland, apprehended and imprisoned several of the nobility. But the army and the parliament did not long agree, and the *rump* was dissolved by Lambert, as easily as it had been by Cromwell.

Monk, at this time, had, by his politeness, integrity, and other virtues, gained the love of the soldiers, and the confidence of the people of Scotland. Whether he meant only to oppose the ambitious Lambert, or secretly meditated the restoration of the king, he declared in favour of the parliament, against those who dismissed it. He called together an assembly, consisting of commissioners from part of the shires of Scotland, the magistrates of burghs, and several of the nobility of the kingdom, who met in the parliament-house, Edinburgh, on the 15th of November, 1659. He communicated, in an ambiguous speech, his design of marching to England, and received a supply of money.

Monk

Monk entered England at the head of his army. People joined him from all quarters. They implored him to restore the government, and to put an end to the anarchy that subsisted. At first he appeared to be zealous for the *rump*; but, at length, he reproached the parliament with tyranny, and joined the city of London, with a view of repairing the public evils. The *rump* retired in confusion, and, after calling a free parliament, dissolved itself.

The people, in general, being cured of their prejudices against the crown, Monk introduced to the parliament, on the 1st of May, 1660, Sir John Granville, with dispatches from Charles. The house was in an ecstasy of joy, and the king was immediately proclaimed. Monk soon went to Dover, to meet the prince, was received by him with open arms, distinguished by the name of FATHER, created duke of Albemarle, and had the glory to place his sovereign on the throne.

Charles, for sometime after his restoration, was entirely occupied with the affairs of England. It was not till the month of August, that he turned his attention to Scotland, when the chief offices of state were filled up as follows: The earl of Glencairn, chancellor; Lauderdale, se-

R

cretary

cretary of state; Crawford, lord treasurer; Sir John Gilmour president of the session; and Mr. (afterward Sir) John Fletcher lord advocate. To these a few were joined, under the character of lords of the articles, with the sole power of introducing bills into parliament.

On the 23d of August, a meeting was held at Edinburgh, consisting of ministers, and some elders, who drew up an address and supplication to the king, "congratulating his return, expressing their entire and unfeigned loyalty, humbly putting him in mind of his own and the nation's covenant with the Lord, and earnestly praying, that his reign might be like those of *David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah**". The committee of estates, having been informed of the meeting, caused their papers to be seized, and the whole members, save one who escaped, were committed to prison.

This step, which was considered as illegal and unprecedented, was "a preamble to that horrid scene of arbitrary proceeding, oppression, and cruelty, which now began to open†". It was remarked, that it took place on the

* Wodrow's history of the church of Scotland.

† Ibid.

the very day, exactly a century after the abolition of popery, and the establishment of the reformation.

The day after the ministers were seized, the committee of estates published a proclamation, prohibiting and discharging all unlawful meetings and conventicles, and all seditious petitions and remonstrances. On the 14th of September, by order of the committee, John Graham provost, and John Spreul town-clerk of Glasgow, who had been reckoned favourers of the *remonstrance*, were imprisoned in Edinburgh tolbooth. The committee also sent an order to the magistrates of Glasgow, to oblige principal Gillespie to appear before them, which he did; and, on September 15th, he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. From thence he was removed to Stirling castle, where he continued till the parliament met. Several ministers were likewise committed to prison.

It deserves to be noticed here, that the registers and records of the kingdom of Scotland, which had been taken up to London, by Cromwell, were sent down in a ship for Kirkaldy, which unhappily perished at sea on the 18th of December. There were eighty-five hogsheds of papers, besides many original records. It was unaccount-

able, that such a treasure should have been sent down by sea; and its loss was considered as a great national calamity, as well as ominous.

Notwithstanding the imprisonments of the clergy, already mentioned, a few had the boldness, in their sermons before parliament, to urge them do nothing against the work of reformation in the church. This freedom was so displeasing to the court, that *time-servers* and *sycophants* were afterward employed; among these were Mr. Hugh Blair of Glasgow, and others, whose sermons, carefully printed, sufficiently show their sentiments. Several ministers, in various parts of the country, were apprehended, tried, and punished, for similar offences, in the beginning of the year 1661.

That year is also remarkable for the execution of the marquis of Argyle, which took place upon the 27th of May. He was tried only for compliance with the usurpation, a crime common to him with the whole nation; but, as he was known to have been the chief instrument in the civil wars, several iniquitous circumstances in his trial, and the irregularity of his sentence, were thought, upon that account, to admit of some apology*. In the same year

* Hume.

year, principal Gillepie was brought before the parliament, and indicted for his correspondence with Cromwell; but, having made an acknowledgment of his offence, he was liberated.

On the 1st of August, the privy council of Scotland met, and proceeded with considerable rigour against the earl of Tweddale, and several gentlemen, and ministers, for their adherence to the usurper. These proceedings were instigated by Mr. James Sharp, who had been sent to London as commissioner from the church of Scotland, to represent the loyalty of the Scots clergy, and to obtain a confirmation of the freedom and privileges of the church; but who, apostatizing from the principles he had professed, joined with some other interested persons, in persuading the king, that episcopacy was agreeable to the bulk of the people in Scotland.

Accordingly, the king, resolving to re-establish this form of government in the church, appointed Mr. Sharp archbishop of St. Andrews; and, on the 14th of August, sent a letter to the privy council in Scotland, intimating his resolution, to interpose the royal authority, for restoring the church to its government by bishops, and requiring obedience to his royal pleasure. This was followed by an
act

act of council, discharging presentations to presbyteries. Mr. Andrew Fairfoul was appointed archbishop of Glasgow, and the other bishopricks were filled up.

Sharp, and three other bishops, were consecrated in London; and, on April 8th, 1662, came to Berwick. They were met by considerable numbers of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, upon the road to Edinburgh, and received with great solemnity. The earl of Middleton, as the king's commissioner, came to Holyrood-house, upon Sunday, May 4th. The rest of the prelates were consecrated, in his presence, on the 7th of the same month, by the two archbishops, and the next day were received in parliament with much pomp.

Thus, the government of the church, by bishops, was restored, not by the church or the state, the clergy or the laity, but by the king's royal prerogative, which was ratified in parliament anno 1662. To compel the people to a compliance with this change, it was thought necessary to have recourse to cruelties, and oppressions, almost unparalleled in the history of any civilized country. Of these it will be our chief business in the ensuing chapter, to give an account.

C H A P. 6.

Consequences of the restoration of episcopacy—Ejection of non-conforming ministers.—Battle of Pentland.—Highland host at Glasgow.—Battles of Drumclog, Glasgow, and Bothwell-bridge.—Persecutions.—Death of Charles II.—State of affairs under James II.—Revolution.—Re-establishment of presbytery.

WHEN the new bishops were consecrated, and inducted to their different sees, the attendance of all parsons, vicars, and ministers, was required to give concurrence, in their stations, for the exercise of ministerial duties, under the pain of his majesty's displeasure. This requisition was but ill attended to, save in the north. In order to carry it more effectually into execution, and to bestow greater honour on the prelates in the western, and southern shires, who were generally disliked, Middleton, with a quorum of the new instituted council, made a circuitous visit to such of the western towns, as had shown the greatest opposition to the restoration of episcopacy. They came to Glasgow, September 26th, and were waited upon by the magistrates, and every person of note in the neighbourhood.

The

The new archbishop, Fairfoul, made a heavy complaint to Middleton, that not one of the young ministers, entered since 1649, had acknowledged his authority as bishop; and, therefore, he moved the council, to agree upon an act and proclamation, peremptorily banishing all such ministers from their houses, parishes, and presbyteries, respectively, who would not, betwixt and the 1st of November thereafter, appear, and receive collation and admission from the bishop; assuring the commissioner, there would not be ten in his diocese, who would stand out, and lose their stipend in this cause.

Every desire of the prelates was now next to a law. A meeting of council was therefore convened in the college fore-hall. It was termed, at the time, *the drunken meeting at Glasgow*; and it was affirmed, that all present were flustered with liquor, except Sir James Lockhart of Lee, one of the senators of the college of justice. The commissioner laid before the council the archbishop's desire, and the necessity of supporting the bishops. There was no debate upon it, save by lord Lee. He reasoned sometime against it, assuring them, that such an act would not only desolate the country, but cast it into disorder, and increase the dislike of the bishops. He also asserted, that

that the ministers would go farther than the loss of their stipends, before they would acknowledge and submit. But reasoning had no weight with his hearers, and the act was framed in terms of the archbishop's demand, "though some say it was with difficulty, whether for want of a *fresh man* to dictate or write, I know not*."

The commissioner and council were likewise regaled, and royally treated at Hamilton, Paisley, Dunbarton, Rosedoe, Mugdock, and several other places, in the course of their circuit. They also went through Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, and remained sometime at Ayr: Many remarks were made upon the prodigality, profaneness, and terrible revelling, displayed in this progress. Those who entertained the commissioner best, had, besides their dining-room, drinking-room, and *vomiting-room*, sleeping-rooms for the company who had lost their senses. In one of their debauches at Ayr, the devil's health was drunk at the cross about midnight. The whole was a work of darkness, disgraceful to the morals of the time, and was considered as a proof, that profaneness and prelacy, in Scotland, went hand in hand. From Ayr, the commissioner went to Wigtoun and Dnmfries; and, upon the last day of October, returned to Holyrood-house.

Accounts came to Edinburgh, from the west and south, of the distracted situation of that part of the country, occasioned by the silencing of their ministers. Middleton, who had been deceived by the archbishop of Glasgow, raged and stormed exceedingly. He knew that many of the ministers had little to maintain themselves and their numerous families, and exclaimed, with many oaths, *What will these mad fellows do?*

During the month of November, the council were taken up in endeavouring to retrieve the hasty act at Glasgow. Letters were written to the archbishops, desiring their attendance upon the council, in order to give advice with regard to the redress of those disorders which it had occasioned. They could not, however, concert a general act until December 23d, being the last meeting of council at which Middleton was present. By that act, the time allowed ministers to obtain presentation and collation was extended to the 1st of February; but, if they neglected to comply betwixt and that time, they were ordained to remove out of their parishes, presbyteries, and diocesses. These proceedings overwhelmed the country with grief and indignation; and many died of broken hearts, in consequence of the lively sorrow
with

with which they had been impressed. Among these were the right honourable the earl of Loudoun, and the reverend and learned principal Baillie, to whom we have been greatly obliged for materials during the course of this work. The former died in the beginning of the year 1662, the latter in July thereafter.

We cannot take our leave of this great character, to whom we are so very highly indebted, without presenting to our readers the following account of him, as given by Mr. Wodrow, in his church history: "Mr. Robert Baillie may most justly be reckoned among the great men of this time, and was an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid judgment, that vast variety of languages he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style, which might become the Augustan age. But I need not enlarge on his character; *his works do praise him in the gates*. He had been employed in much of the public business of this church since the year 1637, and was a worthy member of the venerable assembly at Westminster, and at London, almost all the time of it; and hath left behind him very large accounts of matters both of church and state. He was of a most peaceable and healing temper, and always a vigorous asserter of the

king's interest: And although, at the first, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his education, and tenderness of the king's authority; yet, after reasoning, reading, and prayer, as he himself expresseth it, he came heartily into the measures of the covenanters. I have it from an unquestionable hand, one of his scholars, who afterward was his successor, and waited on him a few weeks before his death, this year, (1662) that he died under a rooted aversion to prelacy in this church. My author desired Mr. Baillie's judgment of the courses this church was so fast running into. His words to him were, "Prelacy is now coming in like a land-flood: for my share, I have considered that controversy as far as I was able, and after all my inquiry, I find it, and am persuaded, it is inconsistent with scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposite to the true interest of these lands."

Meantime, the council proceeded, with their usual rigour, against several ministers. Mr. John Carstairs, minister at Glasgow, and some others, were cited before the council, accused of disloyalty, and of using improper expressions in their sermons. Procedure against them being delayed till the meeting of parliament in May, they were then ordered to be banished out of the king's dominions,

minions, to bear company with several of their brethren who had been sent off the preceding year. Mr. John Carstairs, by close confinement, and severe treatment, fell dangerously ill. He was allowed to go to Dalkeith, for the benefit of his health; and accordingly he escaped the sentence. The punishment of the others was changed into deposition, and banishment from their presbyteries.

In the course of these proceedings, upwards of four hundred ministers were ejected from their parishes, and took leave of their flocks in one day. "It was a day not only of weeping, but howling, like *the weeping of Jazer, as when a besieged city is sacked**." Among these, we find the following persons, viz. Principal Gillespie, Messrs. Robert M^cWard, John Carstairs, and Ralph Rodgers, of Glasgow; and Mr. Donald Cargil, of the Barony parish, beside nine others, all in the presbytery of Glasgow. The only clergymen, in that presbytery, who conformed, were Messrs. Hugh Blair, and John Young, of Glasgow, and Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, of Kilfyth.

The ejected clergymen, were of pious and worthy character, a great many of them learned and able ministers

* Wodrow.

ters of the gospel, and all of them singularly dear to their people. Many of them were but young men, who had but a small share in the work of reformation now so much reprobated, and most of them had suffered under the usurpation, for their loyalty to the king.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, their adherence to the covenants, and their aversion to episcopacy, were considered as crimes sufficiently meriting all the severity which was exercised against them. They were deprived, not only of their livings in time to come, but of the last year's stipend, for which they had served; and compelled, in the midst of winter, with sorrowful hearts, and empty pockets, to wander many miles, they scarce knew whither, with their numerous and small families. They were deprived, without the smallest shadow of legal procedure, and without being heard upon the reasons of their non-conformity. These severities were the foundation of many of the distractions, and troubles, which occurred until the period of the happy revolution.

By an act of parliament, passed in the year 1662, considerable fines were imposed upon a great part of the nobility, gentry, merchants, and monied people of Scotland,

land, to whom the benefit of an act of indemnity was denied. The reason alledged for imposing these fines, was, that they might be given for the relief of the king's good subjects, who had suffered in the late troubles. Nine hundred persons, in all, were fined in sums to the amount of 1,017,353 l. 6 s. 8 d. Scots. Of these, four hundred and thirty-nine persons were connected with the fee of Glasgow, and were fined in the sums mentioned in the following state.

In the shire of Lanerk,	108 persons,	L. 73,080
Ayr,	79	80,660
Renfrew	39	18,580
Wigtoun,	62	58,200
Kirkcudbright,	91	49,640
Dunbarton,	3	3,000
Argyle,	53	65,500
Bute,	4	2,280
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	439	L. 350,940
	<hr/>	<hr/>

In the year 1663, lord Warriston, being apprehended in France, was carried to London, and from thence transmitted to Edinburgh, where he was brought before
the

the parliament on the 8th of July, and received sentence of death, which was executed upon the 22d of the same month.

On November the 2d, in the same year, archbishop Fairfoul, of Glasgow, died at Edinburgh, and was buried with great solemnity in the Abbey-church, Holyrood-house. He was succeeded by Mr. Alexander Burnet, who was translated from Aberdeen.

A great part of the churches in Scotland were filled with young men from the north, who had not completed their studies. Such a number of students were taken from the universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, that an Aberdeenshire gentleman exclaimed, in a passion, "*If the bishops go on long at this rate, we'll not have a young man in the country to herd our cows.*" It is said, these new curates were, for the most part, so inattentive to moral conduct, that the pious and well-disposed would not attend public worship. This neglect so provoked one of them, on seeing a thin congregation, that he broke out into this curious exclamation, "*Na God nor I were hanged over this pulpit, but I'll gar you all come, from the highest to the lowest of you! Na God nor I were hanged over the cupple-balk of this kirk, if I dinna*
gar

gar you all come." About the same time, one of our Glasgow curates, from the north, being overtaken with liquor, in the forenoon, fell into the sewer, at the entry to the Blackfriars church, where the people, regardless of the heavy curses which he prayed upon them, for their want of Christian charity, wantonly allowed him to roll, in the midst of a heavy shower, until he got sober again. Such reiterated marks of disrespect and want of feeling, for the infirmity of his curates, gave a plausible handle to archbishop Burnet, to continue the persecutions, of which he was the great manager in the west country. His maxim was, "*Starve the fanatics, and then you will manage them.*" He was so grievous an oppressor of this city, that the former friends of moderate episcopacy were obliged to protest against his encroachments, on the magistracy and civil power.

The severe law which was past against conventicles, the cruelties exercised upon those who were supposed to frequent these meetings, or who absented themselves from church, and the other violences committed against the people, irritated them to such a degree, that they rose in arms, in support of the covenant. At one period, the insurgents amounted to near 2000, but afterward they diminished to 800. These having advanced near Edinburgh,

burgh, attempted to find their way back into the west, by Pentland-hills. They were there attacked by the king's forces, upon the 28th of November, 1666, and, after a short engagement, were routed. The greater part, however, favoured by the darkness of the night, escaped; about forty only were killed, and 130 taken prisoners.

The prelates took care to load the whole body of presbyterians, as concerned in the rising, and, of course, to misrepresent them as rebels and enemies to the government. Measures were taken to prevent the possibility of escape. Several, who fled from the field of battle, were most cruelly murdered by the country people, and the severest vengeance was taken upon the prisoners. Some were hanged in Edinburgh, and others in Glasgow. At the latter place, the barbarous practice of beating drums on the scaffold, was made use of, in order to prevent the devoted victims from addressing the populace, or expressing their complaints. That inhuman custom was followed upon similar occasions until the revolution.

In 1667, after the Dutch war, the Scots army was, in conformity to the king's letter, disbanded, to the great mortification of the bishops. The archbishop of Glasgow,

gow, at this time a privy counsellor, said, *Now, that the army was disbanded, the gospel would go out of his diocese!* But the king's letter was peremptory. There were only two troops of horse, and Linlithgow's foot-guards retained on the establishment.

After this period, we find nothing concerning Glasgow, worth recording, till 1674, when the city was fined by the privy council, in one hundred pounds sterling, for a conventicle kept in it by Mr. Andrew Morton, and Mr. Donald Cargil. The magistrates were allowed relief from the persons guilty. The winter and spring of this year were remarkable for a great fall of snow, followed by a severe frost, which prevented any ploughing till the 24th of March, old style. One third of the cattle in Scotland perished for want.

The year 1676 is remarkable for a great fire in Glasgow, the flames of which, from the opposite side of the street, threatened the destruction of the tolbooth. Compassion for many prisoners, on account of their religious opinions, caused the citizens break open the doors, and set them at liberty.

On November 30th, in the same year, James Dunlop of Househill was cited before the privy council, upon an information from the archbishop of Glasgow, and fined in 1000 merks, for neglect of his duty as bailie-depute of the regality of Glasgow, in allowing conventicles at Woodside, Partick, and other places; and was declared incapable of holding his office. He was guilty of no mal-administration, but was not so violent as the bishop wished, in preventing people from hearing the gospel.

In 1677, conventicles were frequent; but the conduct of these meetings was so peaceable, that, excepting their being contrary to the laws made to gratify the prelates, nothing of disloyalty could be charged upon them. The bishops did every thing in their power to inflame the king against the presbyterians, and used their influence to prevent certain indulgences, which were granted to several parishes where prelacy was most displeasing.

On May 2d, this year, colonel Borthwick, commanding the forces lying at Glasgow, received orders to place guards at the city gates, on the sabbath mornings, to prevent people from going to conventicles. His soldiers accordingly seized such as attempted to leave the town; and a number of citizens were denounced, for
deserting

deserting the churches, and resorting to meetings in the country.

The persecutions had been regularly continued since the battle of Pentland, which afforded a plausible pretext for increased severity. It was now concerted, in the cabinet council, that measures should be taken to exasperate the Scots fanatics, as they were called, to some broil or other, that there might be a pretence to keep up the standing forces. The duke of Lauderdale was acquainted with the design, and, by a letter from the privy council, addressed to the earls of Glencairn and Dundonald, and lord Ross, the heritors of the shire of Ayr and Renfrew, were ordered to be convoked, in order to fall upon measures for suppressing conventicles. The council's letter, upon this head, of date October 17th, 1677, mentions, in the preamble, that frequent information had been received, "of extraordinary insolences committed, not only against the present orthodox clergy, by usurping their pulpits, threatening and abusing their persons, and setting up conventicle houses, and keeping scandalous and seditious conventicles in the fields, the great seminaries of rebellion," &c. and threatens, in conclusion, that, upon failure of the measures required, the council would repress, by force, "all such rebellious
and

and factious courses, without respect to the disadvantage of the heritors, whom his Majesty will then look upon as involved in such a degree of guilt as may allow the greatest degree of severity."

The whole of this procedure was merely a feint, intended as a colour to their after-proceedings. On November 1st, upon pretended information of some growing disorders, the council passed a resolution, by which the nearest highlanders were to be ordered to meet at Stirling, upon proclamation; and the noblemen and gentlemen were required to have their vassals and tenants ready at a call. Arms and ammunition were to be sent to Stirling. The forces at Glasgow were ordered to Falkirk, and new men were to be levied to complete them; and the soldiers, ordered for the highlands, were countermanded.

The heritors of Ayr and Renfrew met at Irvine, upon November 2d, and resolved, that they did not find it within the compass of their power to suppress conventicles; wherefore they moved, that a toleration should be granted to presbyterians, as the only expedient to preserve the peace. The three noblemen who had convened the

the meeting, reported to the council, that it was not in their power to quiet the disorders.

This refusal, as it was termed, afforded a handle to the council to proceed with their violent project. A letter from the king was procured, dated December 11th, and read in council December 20th, by which they were fully authorized to act as they desired. Instead of bringing in forces from England and Ireland, as had been offered, they agreed upon levying and modelling an army, known by the name of the *Highland Host*, and thus to over-run and depopulate the western shires, in a time of profound peace, in order to compel the presbyterians to conformity. Several noblemen and gentlemen foreseeing the effects of this measure, resolved to go to court, and to give a faithful representation of the situation of Scotland to the king: But they were prevented, by an act of council, passed January 3d, 1678, at the instigation of the bishops, and Lauderdale, prohibiting all noblemen, heritors, and magistrates of burghs royal, from removing out of the kingdom, without special licence from the council.

The council also prepared a *bond*, to be subscribed by noblemen, heritors, and others, by which they should
bind

bind and oblige themselves, that they, their wives, families, and servants, should not be present at any conventicles; their tenants and cottars, and their wives, &c. should likewise abstain from conventicles: and further, that they should not refect, supply, or commune with forfeited persons, intercommuned ministers, or vagrant preachers. A committee of council was appointed to accompany the army, with ample powers to manage it, and to give orders to the sheriffs and magistrates. They were also clothed with a justiciary power, and constituted a criminal court. After several other preliminaries, the northern army rendezvoused upon January 24th, 1678, at Stirling, where, besides other pieces of rudeness, they raised fire more than once*. All these, with the Angus militia, and some gentlemen from Perthshire, marched from Stirling the 25th, and, with the regular forces, arrived at or about Glasgow the 26th.

Their numbers were, of regular forces, about 1000 foot; of Angus militia and Perthshire gentlemen, about 2,200; of the highlanders about 6,000; of horse-guards 160, besides five other troops of horse. The retainers of the lords of the committee, and others, were considerable; and a vast number of stragglers came for booty and plunder; so that they may be reckoned 10,000 in all.

They

* Wodrow.

They had great store of ammunition, four field-pieces, and vast numbers of spades, shovels, and mattocks. They had iron shackles, as if they were to lead back *vast numbers of slaves*; and thumblocks, as they were called, to use in their examinations and trials. The musketeers had their daggers made, so as to fasten on their pieces, like the bayonets now in use. So formidable a company, in a time of profound peace, could not fail to occasion great consternation in the country: and, on the other hand, the amazement of the officers in the army was little less, when they found peace and quietness, where they expected nothing short of actual rebellion.

At Glasgow, the committee of council met, opened their instructions, and proceeded to the work of disarming the peaceable country, and *pressing the bond*. They instructed the sheriffs, to convene the heritors, and others within their several counties, for the purpose of subscription, and to disarm the militia, heritors, and all other persons, excepting privy counsellors, and all officers and soldiers in the king's pay, and excepting only noblemen and gentlemen of quality, who were licensed to wear their swords. In Glasgow, the *bond* was subscribed by James Campbell, provost; John Johnstoun, John Campbell, James Colquhoun, bailies, the counsellors, a

few merchants, and some tradesmen, and mean persons, to the number, in all, of 153. The refusal of this *bond*, formed a pretext for the vast desolation, and severities, exercised at this time, upon the west of Scotland.

The committee of council sat at Glasgow ten days, and even on Sabbath, in time of sermon. During that time, little else was done, than ordering the quartering of the army, and administering the *bond* to the inhabitants. Meanwhile, the highlanders were suffered to plunder, and ruin the country round, and were quartered upon those who refused to subscribe the *bond*.

Upon the 2d of February, the Host, by order of the committee of council, began to march westward to Ayrshire, and, against the 7th, were scattered over Cunningham and Kyle. In the country round Glasgow, upon their march, and in the shire of Ayr, they conducted themselves as rudely and insolently, as if they had been a declared enemy in a conquered country. They amply obeyed the commission of pressing horses for their carriages, by taking them, not only from country people, but from those who happened to be travelling on the road. They overturned loads which they met with, and took the horses of labourers wherever they found them. They
even

even took horses from the ploughs, and the labouring of the ground was stopped over the whole country which they visited in their rout. These outrages were committed, even before the committee went west, or any offer of the *bond* was made. The loss, by this incursion, cannot be accurately estimated; but it will appear to have been immense, when it is mentioned, that the parish of Straitoun suffered, by quartering foldiers, plundering, killing sheep and milt, and the ransom of prisoners, no less than 12,000l. Scots; the parishes of Ayr and Alloa, by quartering, and by robbery, *and breaking open merchants shops*, 12,120l. Scots; and the parishes of Kilmarnock and Fenwick, by quartering and plundering, 14,431l. Scots. The whole loss of Ayrshire, containing forty-five parishes, was calculated at 137,499l. 6s. Scots.

Other oppressive measures were pursued by the council, for furthering their designs. A proclamation was issued, upon February the 11th, discharging masters to receive tenants or servants, without certificates that they had taken the *bond*: and, on February 14th, an act of council was past, *for securing the public peace*, by which, in order to force a general compliance with the *bond*, a new and unprecedented method was fallen upon, by debasing, in the most ignominious manner, the prerogative
and

and majesty of the king, to make him crave law-burrows of his subjects. In consequence of this act, such heritors, as refused or delayed to take the *bond*, were charged to appear upon six days, to enact themselves to keep the peace. Besides, the refusers were to be liable in two years valued rent, and were to be subject to the same penalty, for the contravention of their men-servants or tenants. They were also to be indicted for a penalty of 50 l. sterling, for attending each conventicle since the 24th of March, 1674.

Meanwhile, the militia, and highlanders, besides the outrages already mentioned, wounded and dismembered several persons without provocation. But the committee finding, by experience, that the west country would neither sign the *bond*, nor rise in arms, as the prelates expected, ordered the highlanders home towards the end of February. Accordingly they marched off, except five hundred, who, with the Angus militia, and standing forces, remained, until orders came to dismiss them in the end of April.

Upon their return, loaded with baggage, the produce of their spoils, they continued to take free quarter. The students at the college of Glasgow, and other youths in town,

town, stopped the bridge of Glasgow, the river being high, against 2000 of them. They permitted them to pass, in numbers of forty at one time, and, after obliging them to deposit their plunder, conducted them out at the west port, without suffering them to go through the town.

The committee of council followed, and came to Glasgow on April 10th, where, among other things, they ordered the inhabitants of the shire of Lanark, and town of Glasgow, to give up their arms upon oath. On the 24th, the committee were ordered to return to Edinburgh. Their proceedings had been approved of by the king's letter to the council, of date March 26th, 1678, and were further ratified, by an act of council, May 2d.

The western shires being disarmed, prosecutions were conducted with vigour, against those who had not taken the bond, or had contravened its conditions. In prosecutions for conventicles, even boys were included, and imprisoned. Among the persons prosecuted, we find, March 4th, 1679, dame Margaret Stuart, the lady of Sir William Fleming of Farm, commissary of Glasgow, and she, having acknowledged, that she was present at a conventicle at Langside, and at another in the Craigs of Glasgow,

gow, and that ministers preached in her house at Edinburgh; the council fined her husband in 4000 merks, and ordained him instantly to pay the fine, or find security to pay it in ten days. This is only one of the numerous instances, in which husbands were made accountable for the alledged guilt of their wives.

The council now passed an act, commanding all officers and soldiers of the standing forces and militia, to dissipate the persons who should be found at conventicles, by force of arms; and in case, by resistance, mutilation or death should ensue, the council indemnified them from such slaughter or mutilation, with the consequences. To execute this, and such other acts, the new levied forces were sent to Glasgow, and other places in the western shires. The troops, at Glasgow, were commanded by lord Ross, and made strict search for intercommuned ministers, field-preachers, and other obnoxious persons. In the course of these searches, many disorders and cruelties were committed.

The covenanters, aware of the policy which had been made use to exasperate them, had hitherto forbore all acts of hostility; but an incident at last occurred, suited to the views of the council: William Carmichael, a bankrupt

rupt merchant, and once a bailie in Edinburgh, was employed by archbishop Sharp, and commissioned by the privy council, to search for, and persecute nonconformists, and intercommuned persons, in the shire of Fife. This man was of dissolute life, and abandoned morals. The execution of his commission was attended with a number of cruelties, oppressions, and tortures; even rapes, adulteries, and other abominable crimes, were charged upon him. All legal methods of redress being impracticable, a number of persons, who had suffered in their families from this merciless persecutor, resolved, if possible, to rid themselves of him. For this purpose, they fixed upon the 3d day of May, when, as they were informed, he was to be *at the hunting*. These persons, to the number of nine, came abroad early in the morning of that day, and, by a strange accident, *they met with the master, when looking for the man*. The archbishop returning, with his daughter, from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's, by the way of Ceres, was encountered by these persons, in *Magus muir*, dragged from his carriage, and put to death, with many wounds. The persons who committed this violence, retired to a house, three or four miles distant, where they continued till the evening. Four men were afterward executed for this murder, who were no-wise concerned in it; and Mr. Hackstoun of Rathillet, who

who was also taken and executed, had declined acting in the affair, though present.

After the death of the primate, the council proceeded, with their usual rigour, against the presbyterians. Those who frequented conventicles in small numbers, found it necessary, on account of the insults of the soldiers, to keep more closely together, and even to carry arms for their own defence. Hitherto they contented themselves with attending sermons in the fields, and defending themselves when attacked: but their numbers, as well as their zeal, increasing, they assembled at Rutherglen, on May 29th, 1679, with Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Prestoun, and Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister, at their head. Here they published a declaration and testimony against those things which had been done publicly, in prejudice of the cause in which they were engaged. Upon the same day, they publicly burnt, at the cross of Rutherglen, the acts of parliament and council mentioned in the testimony. Their proceedings made a great noise, and being highly exaggerated, created considerable alarm. Mr. Graham, of Claverhouse, afterward viscount of Dundee, then a captain in one of the new levied troops, received a commission from the council, to kill and destroy all he found in arms, at any field-meeting,

ing, to deal with them as traitors, and to seize, and, upon resistance, kill all who had any share in the appearance at Rutherglen.

Accordingly, Mr. Thomas Douglas being to preach on Sunday, June the 1st, near Loudoun-hill, three or four miles westward from Strathaven, Claverhouse resolved to march thither with his party. Public worship was begun, when the accounts were received of the approach of Claverhouse. Those who had arms withdrew from the meeting, resolving to meet the soldiers. They got together, about 40 horse, and 150, or 200 foot, all provided with ammunition, and untrained, but abundantly brisk for action, and came up with Claverhouse, and his party, in a muir, near a place called Drumclog. This little undisciplined army, though unexperienced, and without officers, received Claverhouse's first fire with great bravery, and returned it with much gallantry. After a short, but warm engagement, the soldiers were entirely defeated, with the loss of thirty or forty killed, and were pursued for more than a mile. Claverhouse had his horse shot under him, and very narrowly escaped. Several of the officers were wounded, and some of the soldiers taken prisoners, who being disarmed, were dismissed without further injury. Very little loss was sustained upon the other side.

Mr. Hamilton, in this action, discovered abundance of valour. It was the opinion of not a few, that if he had followed up his success, by marching straight to Glasgow, they might easily, with such as would have joined them by the way, have dislodged the soldiers there, and made a formidable appearance. Instead of that, they returned to the meeting, and marched the same night to Hamilton, intending to proceed the next day to Glasgow, where the forces, having received the alarm from Claverhouse, were sufficiently prepared to receive them.

The next day, about ten o'clock, Mr. Hamilton, and his party, came to Glasgow, and divided themselves into two bodies; the one under the command of Mr. Hamilton, came up the Gallowgate street; and here, it is said, their leader did not show that gallantry he had discovered the preceding day, but stepped into a house at the bridge, till his men retired; the other party entered the town by the wynd-head and college.

The country men were under great disadvantages; their horses were of no use to them; and they were perfectly open to the fire from the closses and houses, as well as to that of the soldiers, who lay behind rails and barricadoes, secured from the fire of their enemy. Nevertheless, the country men shewed abundance of courage,
and

and were so brisk in the attack, that several of the soldiers gave way, and some of their officers retired behind the tolbooth stair: and had they been commanded by persons of military skill, it is not improbable, that the soldiers would have been routed.

But, after six or eight were killed in the attack, and some wounded, the country men finding the attempt too warm for them, retired, in order, to the Gallowgate-port, expecting that the regular forces would leave their entrenchments, and give them battle in the open fields; but the soldiers were content to remain in safety. Mr. Hamilton, and his party, returned to Hamilton, much disheartened at their discomfiture. Claverhouse, and his officers, gave orders, that the dead bodies should not be buried, but left to be devoured by the butchers' dogs. When some women attempted to carry them to the grave, they were attacked, and maltreated by several of the soldiers, who compelled them to set down the coffins in the alms-house, near the high church. There they continued, till Mr. Welsh, and some of their friends, came in a few days, and buried them.

The council having received an account of the affair of Drumclog, met on June 3d, and published a proclamation, declaring that insurrection to have been "an o-

pen, manifest, and horrid rebellion; and high treason.” They published another proclamation, June 5th, for assembling the militia, to act in concert with the king’s forces; and a third proclamation, on June the 7th, commanding all heritors and freeholders, to attend the king’s host. Lord Ross, and the officers of the king’s forces at Glasgow, finding the country people gathering in great numbers, and judging themselves unable to stand a second attack, retired, on June 3d, to Kilsyth. Next day, when near Falkirk, they received the council’s order to stop, till the earl of Linlithgow’s regiment, and other forces, should join them, and then to march back, all in a body, to the west country.

The king approved of the proceedings of council, and promised them assistance. The council were panic-struck, when they heard that the force of the rebels had extended to 8000, if not more. The king, by the advice of his English council, named his natural son, James duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, with very ample powers. The duke left London the 15th of June, and, arriving in Edinburgh on the 18th, was that day appointed a privy counsellor. He immediately took the command of the forces then at Edinburgh; but, from the want of provisions, his motions westward were slow,

He

He marched from Edinburgh, by the way of Livingston and Bathgate, and, on Saturday, June 21st, encamped on Bothwel muir. A deputation from the other party waited upon him next day, with proposals, to which his grace returned a civil answer; but he refused to treat with them, unless they would lay down their arms in half an hour. When the commissioners returned, the officers engaged in a debate, in which nothing was agreed upon, and no answer was returned to the general. Preparations were therefore immediately made for an engagement.

The army of the covenanters, or of the rebels, as they were called, lay in Hamilton muir, on the south of the river Clyde, and surrounded by the river on the north, north-east, and north-west. The bridge at Bothwel, a pass of much importance, was guarded by a party of two or three hundred; and, being attacked by Lord Livingston, at the head of the foot-guards, the country men made an able resistance for near an hour, till their ammunition failed. When they found their powder and ball falling short, they sent a dispatch to Mr. Hamilton, their general, for a supply of ammunition, or of troops well provided. Instead of this, he ordered them to quit the bridge, and retire to the body of the army. With this command they complied, and the duke having followed them,

them, threw them into disorder, and obtained a complete victory.

Twelve hundred surrendered prisoners in the muir, and about four hundred were killed. The soldiers were guilty of great cruelties; and several persons, passing upon the road, near Hamilton, or upon necessary business, were murdered in cold blood. Claverhouse, and others of the officers, who had been at Glasgow, solicited the general to ruin the west country, to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, and Strathaven, to kill the prisoners, and to permit the army to plunder the western shires; but the general, much to his honour, rejected their proposals with detestation. Upon this disappointment, they requested, that the soldiers should be allowed, at least three or four hours plunder in Glasgow, on account of the favour which had been there shewn to the west country army. This demand was likewise peremptorily refused. Yet it is said, that the town of Glasgow, in order to escape plunder at this time, was afterwards obliged to quit, to the town of Edinburgh, for the behoof of particular persons, *who were to be gratified*, a debt of 30,000 merks, they held upon the Cannon mills.

It would be almost endless to enter upon the ravages and spoils committed after this engagement. Many persons

sons in the neighbourhood were plundered in their goods, and imprisoned, and fined in large sums, for conversing with the rebels. The king's forces seized upon all the horses of value which were found in the pursuit, although their owners were nowise concerned in the engagement. The prisoners were sent off to Edinburgh, where they arrived on June 24th. Upon their march, they were treated by the foldiers with great cruelty. They had been stripped, not only of their arms, but of their clothes; they were tied two and two; refused refreshments on the road; subjected to malicious jests and reproaches; and brought to Edinburgh almost naked.

Monmouth did not arrive in Edinburgh till June 26th, during the interval betwixt that time and the engagement, tradition says, he spent two days at Glasgow, and was received, and entertained with honour by the magistrates. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he treated the prisoners with humanity. To those who promised to live peaceably, he gave immediate liberty. About 300, who obstinately refused that easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes; but, being stowed under deck, in a small vessel, which was cast away off Orkney, 200 of them perished at sea. Two of the ministers, Messrs. John King and John Kid, were tried before the lords of justiciary, and received sentence of death, which was accordingly
executed

executed upon August the 18th. Circuit courts were established throughout the country, for the trial of those who had been in the engagement at Bothwell; and the usual severities of denunciations, forfeitures, imprisonments, and plunder, were continued.

When Monmouth returned to Edinburgh, some presbyterian gentlemen, and ministers, waited upon him, and entreated him to use his interest with his Majesty, for full liberty to their party. He received them graciously, and promised that nothing proper should be wanting on his part.

A proclamation was issued by the king, suspending the laws against house conventicles. This proclamation was thought to be procured by Monmouth's letters; and, in prosecution of it, the privy council of Scotland granted warrant for liberating such ministers as were in custody, on account of conventicles. It was followed by the king's letter, enlarging the favour. But the council and bishops soon took measures for rendering these indulgences ineffectual.

In the end of this year, James duke of York, brother to the king, came to Scotland, was received by the council with great solemnity; and, by virtue of the king's letter,

letter, was admitted a privy counsellor without taking the oaths. He was a bigotted papist, and a zealous confederate of the council in all their cruelties and oppressions.

In the year 1680, we find a number of persecutions, against those concerned in the engagement at Bothwel, and against the heritors and gentlemen who had not attended the King's host. The trials for these offences were followed by fugitations and forfeitures. Some of the estates forfeited, were gifted to papists, by the influence of the duke of York, and his creatures; and the donators endeavoured to make good their titles, by severities, equal to those by which they had been acquired. On July 20th, this year a rencounter took place at Ayr's Moss, in the parish of Auchinleck in Kyle, betwixt the king's forces and the covenanters, in which the former were successful. This engagement was followed by executions, and other branches of persecution.

Among those prosecuted, for being concerned in the battle at Bothwel, we find, in 1681, sixteen citizens of Glasgow, besides several heritors in Lanarkshire, some of whom, having resigned their lands, were dismissed; others, having stood trial, had their estates forfeited. To give some idea of the mode of procedure in these cases,

we shall present our readers with a short account of the process against John Spreul, apothecary in Glasgow.

Mr. Spreul's troubles began soon after the battle of Pentland. His father, a merchant in Paisley, was fined by Middleton, and forced to abscond. The son was apprehended, because he would not discover where his father was. After a short confinement, and many terrible threatenings of being shot, roasted to death, and the like, he was dismissed. In 1677, he had been cited before a court at Glasgow, for nonconformity; but finding that severity was intended against him, he absented, and went abroad, sometime to Holland, France, and Ireland, where he carried on business. He came from Ireland after the scuffle at Drumclog; but though his brother, and two cousins, were with the west country army, he did not join them.

After the defeat at Bothwell, he again absconded, and retired to Holland. During his absence, his wife and family were turned out of his house and shop, and all his moveables secured. He returned to this country in the end of the year 1680, intending to carry his wife and family to Rotterdam. He was apprehended at Edinburgh, November 12th, and was carried next day before
the

the duke and council, and interrogated with regard to the concern which he had in the affair of Drumclog and Bothwel. The usual ensnaring questions, which were put to all persons at that period, were also proposed to him; such as "Was the killing of archbishop Sharp a murder? Were the risings at Drumclog and Bothwel rebellions?"

Having refused to sign his examination, denied all connection with the affairs of Drumclog and Bothwel, and declined to pronounce them rebellions, or to give any opinion with regard to the killing of the archbishop, the preses, lord Haltoun, told him, that unless he would make a more ample confession, and subscribe it, he should be put to the torture. Mr. Spreul answered, he had been ingenuous, and would go no farther; that they could not legally subject him to torture; but if they would go on, he protested, that it was against law, and that what was extorted from him, under torture, should not militate against himself, or others; expressing his hopes, that he should not be so far left by God, as to accuse himself, or others, under the extremity of pain.

His foot was then put into the instrument called the *best*. The following queries were proposed to him, and

at every query, the hangman gave five strokes upon the wedges, "Whether he knew any thing of a plot to blow up the abbey and the duke of York? Who was in the plot? Where Mr. Cargil was? And whether he would subscribe his confession?" To these he declared his utter ignorance, and adhered to his refusal to subscribe. The council then ordered the *old boot* to be brought, alleging that the new one, which had been used, was not so good. He accordingly underwent the torture a second time, which he bore with wonderful firmness, adhering to his former declaration. When the torture was over, he was carried on a soldier's back to the prison, where he was refused the benefit of a surgeon, and even the assistance of his wife, who arrived that day in Edinburgh.

Upon his recovery, he was served with an indictment, at the instance of his majesty's advocate, *Sir George Mackenzie*, to stand trial before the justiciary court in March 1681; but the crown witnesses not being ready, the process was delayed. During his confinement, an incident occurred, which added greater rigour to the prosecution. Mr. Spreul had unfortunately been prevailed upon to draw a petition for John Murray, a sailor, under sentence of death, for being at a conventicle in
arms.

arms. That supplication was thought too much of the nature of a remonstrance, and concluded with a declaration of abhorrence of *papists*, and their principles. Mr. Spreul, as the author, was ordered to appear before the council. Having acknowledged that he framed it, the duke of York rose up, and said, with a frown, *Sir, would you kill the king?* Mr. Spreul, after a pause, directing himself to the chancellor, said, *My lord, I bless God, I am no papist; I loath and abhor all those jesuitical, bloody, and murdering principles; neither my parents, nor the ministers I heard, ever taught me such principles.* A great silence followed, and many expected that Mr. Spreul would have been immediately confined in irons. In a little, the chancellor asked Mr. Spreul some questions concerning Bothwel, to which he declined answering, as he was under trial before the justiciary; and thereupon he was remanded to prison.

Mr. Spreul was brought before the justiciary upon June 6th, when the diet was deserted *simpliciter*. Upon the 10th he was again brought into court, and indicted, as guilty of high treason and rebellion, for corresponding and being present with the rebels at Bothwel. He was also charged “with keeping company and correspondence with Messrs. John Welsh and Samuel Arnot, the
bloody

bloody and sacrilegious murderers of the late archbishop of St. Andrew's," which was an arrant falsehood, those two ministers having had no share in that fact.

The advocates for Mr. Spreul were Sir George Lockhart, Messrs. Walter Pringle, James Daes, Alexander Swinton, and David Thoirs. Mr. Pringle alledged, that the defendant could not pass to the knowledge of an inquest, because, having twice undergone the torture, and having denied the crime, he could not, by the law of this, and other nations, be impanneled, or condemned, for that crime, upon any new probation; and protested, that the prisoner should be heard upon the relevancy of the pretended confession, which the lord advocate declared he meant to produce as an adminicle of proof. Long pleadings ensued. The lords found the dittay relevant, remitted the probation to an assize, and repelled the defence founded upon the torture, in respect the commission of council did not warrant the prisoner to have been questioned on the points contained in the dittay, and adjourned the trial till the 13th instant.

Upon the 13th, the pleadings, for the prisoner, were renewed; but the lords adhered to their interlocutor, and the proof was brought. When the witnesses were examined,

mined, the lord advocate offered, in proof, the alledged confession of the prisoner in presence of the council.

Sir George Lockhart objected, that it could not be received, because it was not signed by the prisoner; but when offered to him, had been disclaimed; and alledged, that it had been drawn up *ex post facto*. It was answered, that the confession was written, and read *ex incontinenti* to the prisoner, which was offered to be proved by witnesses. The lords, however, "refused to sustain the confession to be proved by witnesses, as a mean of probation, either plenary or adminiculate."

The advocate then moved, that the prisoner might be interrogated, "If he thinks the being at *Bothwell-bridge* rebellion?" This interrogatory being put by the court, the prisoner answered, "that was no part of the libel, and his after life should witness him to be both a good subject and a good Christian." The advocate closed the proof, and protested for an assize of error, in case the jury should acquit the prisoner.

The jury were then inclosed, and next day returned their verdict, in which they, "*una voce*, find nothing proved of the crimes in the libel, which may make him (the prisoner) guilty." Upon this verdict, the prisoner,
and

and his council, took instruments, and craved he might be liberated: but his majesty's advocate produced an act of council, dated June 14th, granting warrant to the judges, "notwithstanding of any verdict or sentence upon the criminal dittay, lately pursued against John Spreul, to detain him in prison, until he be examined upon several other points they have to lay to his charge."

Upon July 14th, Mr. Spreul was brought before the privy council, for being present at field conventicles, and for having harboured and conversed with intercommunicated persons. The libel was referred to his oath; but he, having refused to swear, was found guilty, fined in 500 l. sterling, and sent to the Bass. Mr. Spreul continued there in confinement, so long, that he acquired the appellation of *Bass John*.

Mr. Wodrow, in giving an account of this trial, mentions, that Mr. Spreul, in the interval betwixt his appearance before the council, and his trial before the judiciary, received information, that some of the witnesses were threatened, and others had large promises, to bear evidence against him. Yet the lords began to think, that the proof would not reach his life; but the duke of York urged them to proceed, adding, that they were at much pains

pains about poor country people, but Mr. Spreul was more dangerous than five hundred of them. In conclusion, Mr. Wodrow remarks, If such efforts were made in this trial, where so many able lawyers were counsel for the prisoner, we may easily guess, what sad work was in the more ordinary trials of poor ignorant country people.

Mr. Spreul, after an imprisonment in the Bais, for near six years, presented a petition to the council, craving to be set at liberty, on account of his sufferings. The council, May 13th, 1687, “in regard of his majesty’s late gracious proclamation, gave order and warrant to Charles Maitland, lieutenant-governor of the isle of the Bais, to set Mr. Spreul at liberty.” Mr. Spreul, however, apprehending that this order involved him in an approbation of the proclamation, was unwilling to take his liberty upon such terms. He signified this to the governor, and continued in prison, until an order of council was passed, appointing the doors to be thrown open, and leaving him at liberty to go or stay, as he pleased. He departed, under protestation against what he considered to be wrong in the order and proclamation, went to Edinburgh; waited upon the council; thanked them for his liberty, but verbally renewed his protest against the proclamation and orders. So ended the long tract of sufferings

z

ferings experienced by this singular character, whom we shall afterwards have occasion to mention in the commercial part of our history.

We return to the year 1681, and find, that Mr. Donald Cargil, sometime minister of the Barony parish of Glasgow, having been apprehended, and examined before the council, was brought to trial before the court of justiciary, on July 26th, for being concerned in the battle of Bothwell-bridge, was found guilty, and next day executed.

That spirit of persecution and oppression, which we have hitherto had so much occasion to notice, continued to exhibit the same ardour, from this period, during the remainder of Charles' reign. An act of parliament was passed, August 3rd, 1681, prescribing a test to be taken by all persons in offices of public trust; an oath so complex and extensive, that it was beyond the capacity of many upon whom it was imposed. It was further thought to involve an approbation of the doctrine of the divine indefeasible hereditary right of kings; and it included a renunciation of the covenants, and of the right to use defensive arms against oppression. It was brought into parliament, and voted in one day, although its importance required deliberation; and a delay, till next day,

was

was refused to the earl of Argyle, and many others, who argued, that more time for consideration should be allowed.

Several persons, particularly ministers, having declined to take this test, were subjected to persecution. The earl of Argyle, when it was proposed to him, subjoined, with the duke of York's approbation, a short explication, which was afterward the cause of his trial before the court of justiciary, in the issue of which he was found guilty of the crimes of treason and leasing-making; but, a short time after the verdict, he found means to escape from the castle of Edinburgh. Soon after, he reached London, and escaped to Holland. In the interim, sentence was pronounced, adjudging him to be a traitor, appointing his name and honours to be extinct; ordaining his arms to be torn and reversed, and confiscating his lands, estate, titles, and dignities.

In the beginning of the year 1685, the king was seized with a sudden fit; and, after languishing a few days, expired, on February 6th, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His disorder was thought, by some, to resemble an apoplexy; but, according to others, his death happened in such a manner, and under such circumstances, that it

must remain a problem, whether he died a natural death, or was hastened to his grave by treachery*.

The duke of York was immediately declared king, and the same day issued a proclamation, continuing all persons in their places of trust under the late king. Though a papist, he took the coronation oath; but he went openly to mass; and, by this imprudence, displayed his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles. He even sent an agent to Rome, in order to make submission to the pope, and to prepare for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church.†

The duke of Monmouth, under the secret protection of the prince of Orange, concerted, with Argyle, the plan of an invasion. In pursuance of this project, Argyle sailed from the Vly on May 2d, and, by favourable winds, was soon carried to Scotland. He landed in the isle of Mull, and from thence passed to Kintyre. He summoned, though in vain, the people to rise in support of their violated privileges. The greatest force he could collect amounted to no more than 2500 men. The privy council apprised of his intentions, embodied the militia and regular forces. Argyle was surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and, endeavouring to force his way into the low country, he crossed the Leven, near Dumbarton.

* Welwood's Memoirs.

† Hume.

Dumbarton. His provisions were cut off, and his followers gradually deserted. He turned his route toward Galloway. Passing the Clyde, he arrived at Renfrew, where he, and his few adherents, were misled, under night, into a bog. Confusion and flight ensued; and the earl, returning toward the Clyde, was pursued, and seized by two peasants. He was carried first to Glasgow, then to Edinburgh, where, after many indignities, he was beheaded upon his former sentence.

Monmouth left Amsterdam on the 24th of May. After obstructions, by contrary winds, he landed near Lime, in Dorset, on June 9th, proclaiming the king to be a tyrant, a popish usurper; and ascribing to him the poisoning of the late king. He soon gathered followers; but, at the battle of Sedge-moor, his forces were routed with great slaughter. He himself fled from the field of battle, and concealed himself in a ditch, but was discovered, and soon afterward beheaded.

The persecutions, for religious opinions, were carried to the same extremities as under the former reign. Persons of both sexes, and of almost every age and rank, were subjected to them. Murders, in open day, were committed, in the fields, by the military, without colour of law or justice, and without enquiry into the grounds

grounds of such severities. The usual pretext for these cruelties were, that the sufferers had been present at the battle of Bothwell; and, upon their refusing to answer certain interrogatories, or to take the abjuration oath, they were instantly shot, without any evidence, or other form of trial. Two women were drowned near Wigtown, by being tied to stakes within the flood-mark; three men were shot at Polmadie, near Glasgow, for declining to pray for the king by name; and similar murders were committed over the whole country.

Upon the first rumour of Argyle's landing, the most dreadful ravages were committed by the soldiers. The prisoners detained in Edinburgh, on account of religion, were immediately sent off to Burntisland, and afterward to Dunnotter, where they experienced the greatest hardships and misery. The unsuccessful attempt of Argyle was attended with forfeitures, imprisonments, and persecutions against many of the name of Campbell, and others, who were supposed to have been engaged in the enterprise.

These severities are, probably, without any parallel, excepting the counterpart of the same plot against the reformation, which took place in France, in October, 1685. Lewis XIV. after having long harrassed the protestants,

testants, revoked the edict of Nantz, by which the free exercise of their religion had been secured. In consequence of the persecutions exercised against the unhappy protestants, France was deserted by above half a million of her most useful subjects, who carried with them, besides immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures, which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. Of these refugees, near fifty thousand settled in Britain; and, by their tragical accounts of the tyranny, which they had experienced, revived among the protestants, all their former horror and animosity against popery.

After the vigorous endeavours of the prelates in this country, and their adherents, for so many years, they now found, that they had little else to perform. Most part of the presbyterian ministers were either executed or banished, or had withdrawn themselves. Of the laity, who had favoured presbytery, the gentry and heritors were either worn out by death, forfeitures, and burdens, or under banishment; and many of the common people were cut off, transported to the plantations, or mewed up in prison. The rest were so born down by the soldiers, and time-servers, that most of them lived as privately and quietly as possible, and others exhibited an outward appearance of conformity. The relaxation of severities was therefore naturally to be expected; but it was considered,

ed, by many, as a prelude to the restoration of popery. The project to this effect, which was attempted in parliament, 1686, by rescinding the penal statutes against papists, made it convenient, that the more open acts of bloodshed and violence should be, in some measure, superseded.

Though that project failed, the king determined to prosecute his purpose. Great numbers of priests and jesuits came from abroad. Many of our nobility and gentry, professing themselves papists, proved, like all apostates, violent and active promoters of their new principles, and received the usual reward of such services, the best places of profit and power in the kingdom. The papists were allowed ample liberty in the exercise of their religion, by a proclamation of the king, February 12th, 1687, called the first indulgence. That order was framed agreeably to the maxims and politics of France and Rome, and in terms nearly correspondent to the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It was the utmost stretch of absolute power, and required the most implicit and unreserved obedience.

By the same proclamation, the presbyterians were tolerated to meet in private houses; but discharged from assembling in barns or meeting-houses, with a renewal of
all

all the severities against preaching in the fields. Upon February 24th, the council made a return to the king, acquainting him with their obedience, and their resolution to prosecute the ends of his royal proclamation. They approved of the admission of papists to places of trust, and thanked the king, for his royal word, to maintain their church and religion, established by law, believing that to be the best security they could have. Among those who thus depended upon the word of a papist, for the security of the reformed religion, we find the two archbishops. The duke of Hamilton, the earls of Panmure and Dundonald, did themselves real honour, by refusing to sign this letter. The latter two were, by the king, removed from the council. The former, being of too much consequence to be disoblighd, was continued, *cum nota*.

The king soon issued out a second and third proclamation; by the last of which, he, "by his sovereign authority, prerogative-royal, and *absolute power*, suspended, stopped, and disabled all penal and sanguinary laws made against any for non-conformity to the religion established by law." This liberty was accepted by almost all the presbyterian ministers in the kingdom, and proved a great and general relief. The synod of Glasgow and

Ayr met in a house at Glasgow, upon August 30th, this year, at which were present, a considerable number who had been members of it at the restoration. Mr. William Violant was chosen moderator; and, among other things, the synod recommended Mr. James Wodrow to take the charge of instructing, in their theological studies, a number of youths, who had not had the opportunity of public teaching, since they had left their philosophical studies in the university. He accordingly took upon him this charge, and continued in it, till he was called to the chair of the professor of theology in the university of Glasgow, February 22d, 1692.

The indulgence, which was thus embraced, though intended merely in favour of papists, afforded the true friends of liberty and religion the means of being frequently together, of strengthening each others hands, and of preparing matters for the great event which followed. Considerable encroachments were made upon that toleration. Many presbyterian ministers were disturbed in the exercise of their functions; and some of them were prosecuted criminally for their freedom in preaching against popery. In January, 1688, accounts were received, that the queen was with child. So fond were our Scots council, not only of a popish prince, but
of

of entailing popery and slavery on these lands, that they appointed a day of public thanksgiving on this account. June 10th, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. That event was productive of great joy to all the zealous catholics, both at home and abroad. It was received with the same pleasure by the Scots council, who appointed a day of thanksgiving upon the occasion.

Every motive, civil and religious, concurred to alienate from the king, the affections of mind of all ranks and denominations; and, from the birth of the prince of Wales, he derived the suddenness of his ruin. That circumstance increased the fears of his subjects, who foresaw, in the reign of a prince to be educated under such a father, a continuance of the same unconstitutional measures. While James was busy in forfeiting the affections of his people, his son-in-law, the prince of Orange, was engaged in schemes for mounting the throne. He retained, in his pay, the principal servants of James, and was minutely informed of all the transactions of the king. He endeavoured to convince the people of England and Holland, that the prince of Wales was a supposititious child. Under pretence of danger from France, he formed a camp of twenty thousand men, between

Grave and Nimeguen, equipped for service twenty ships of the line, and ordered the whole naval force of the united provinces to be fitted out.

James, in the meanwhile, reposed himself in the most unaccountable security, and had the weakness to believe, that the reports of an invasion, were raised to frighten him into a connection with France. Convinced, at length, of the truth of these reports, he prepared for war, and endeavoured to gain, by lenity, the lost affections of his people. He declared, that he meant to establish a legal settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; that he had resolved inviolably to preserve the church of England; that his intention was, that Roman catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the House of Commons; and expressed his readiness to do every thing for the safety and advantage of his subjects. He published, on September 27th, a general pardon, with the exception of a few persons of inconsiderable rank and influence. He restored the city of London to its ancient charter and privileges; and made other concessions, which were the less prized, that they seemed to be extorted by fear.*.

During

* Mr. Thackeray's History of Britain

During these transactions, the prince of Orange continued his preparations; and, when these were completed, took a formal leave of the States of Holland. He was at first driven back by a dreadful tempest; but, in a short time, he put again to sea with a favourable east wind. On November 3d, he was discovered between Dover and Calais, stretching down the channel with all his sails. The same wind which was favourable to the enemy, confined the English to their own coast, and the Dutch landed in Torbay on November the 5th.

The Scots council had resolved, October the 3d, to support the king with their lives and fortunes. The bishops, with the same abject flattery which had formerly distinguished their attachment to the popish king, sent a letter to him, expressive of their unshaken loyalty, and praying, "that God might give him the hearts of his subjects, and the necks of his enemies; might give success to his majesty's arms, that all who should invade his just and undoubted rights, might be disappointed and clothed with shame; that, on his royal head, the crown might still flourish; and that Heaven might bless and preserve the prince to sway the royal sceptre after him." This letter was subscribed by all the Scots bishops, except Argyle and Caithness, and shews, that, with the exception

ception of these two, they were ready to accede to any terms, even popery itself, to please the king, and retain their benefices.

The prince of Orange, before leaving the Hague, issued a declaration of the reasons which induced him to an invasion. This declaration was publicly proclaimed at Glasgow, and several other burghs, and had very considerable influence on the greater part of the Scots nobility, gentry, and commons. Upon the last day of November, the earl of Loudoun, and several young gentlemen, students in the university of Glasgow, burnt, in effigy, the pope and the archbishop of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, without any opposition.

The king was soon deserted by a number of the English nobility and officers, who joined the prince; the princess Ann, his favourite daughter, with her husband, prince George of Denmark, in like manner, abandoned him. Distrusting his army, and fearful of throwing himself upon the parliament, the king lost all courage, and withdrew, under cover of night, to Embyferry, near Feverfham, in hopes of escaping to the continent. He was seized in his flight, returned to London, and demanded a conference with the prince of Orange. William ordered him

him to remove to Rochester castle, from which the king soon escaped, and fled to France. He hastened to St. Germain, whither he had formerly sent the queen and prince of Wales, and was received by Lewis XIV. with more than royal generosity.

A convention was now called, which soon resolved, that James had abdicated the government, and vacated the throne. A bill was past for the establishment of the crown in the prince of Orange, jointly with his wife, but reserving the administration to the prince alone. In default of issue by the prince, the throne was to descend to the prince of Denmark, and the heirs of her body. This business was finished on February 12th, 1689; and, on that very day, the prince of Orange arrived at Whitehall from Holland.

Next day the crown was tendered to the prince and prince. The convention to a preamble, containing a detail of the grievances of the preceding reign, annexed the declaration of ancient rights and liberties, which was subjoined to the settlement of the crown.

The settlement of the crown of England was soon followed by the same measure in Scotland: a convention

was summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on March 14th, 1689. That convention resolved, that James had *forfeited his right to the crown*, and that the throne was become vacant; and appointed a committee to prepare an act for raising William and Mary to the vacant throne, to consider of the destination of the crown to other heirs, and to form an instrument of government, for securing, in future, the people against the grievances of which they at present complained. The king and queen were proclaimed, at Edinburgh, on April the 11th. Commissioners were appointed to repair to London, to invest William with the government.

On May the 11th, these commissioners, with a cavalcade of most of the Scottish nobility and gentry, then residing in London, were introduced to the king and queen at Whitehall. They presented a letter from the states, the instrument of government, a list of grievances to be redressed; and an address for converting the convention into a parliament. The papers were read, William made a suitable reply; and the coronation oath was tendered to him by the earl of Argyle. The convention being turned into a parliament, the duke of Hamilton was appointed commissioner; lord Melvin received the seals as secretary; viscount Stair was restored to the office

sonant with the principles of forbearance, and brotherly love, inculcated in the doctrines, and exemplified in the life and character, of the great Founder of Christianity; and may we feel and preserve a due abhorrence of all attacks and encroachments upon our inestimable, civil, and religious liberties.

END OF BOOK FIRST.



fice of lord president of the court of session; and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, was appointed lord advocate.

An act was passed, July 22d, for the abolition of prelacy, which was followed by an act of the parliament, which met at Edinburgh, April 1690, rescinding the king's supremacy over the church; and, by two other acts of the same parliament, restoring to their churches, such presbyterian ministers, then alive, as had been ejected from their charges since January 1st, 1661, ratifying the confession of faith, settling the presbyterian government of the church, and appointing the first meeting of the general assembly to be held, at Edinburgh, upon the third Tuesday of October ensuing.

Thus, after a series of sufferings and persecutions continued for a period of twenty-eight years, the church of Scotland was restored to that form of government, for which her sons had so firmly and nobly contended, that those, who were devoted as victims in her cause, have been distinguished by the honourable title of martyrs, in defence of truth and liberty: and thus, was brought about that happy revolution, under which, as Hume says, "we have ever since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty, that ever was known amongst mankind."

During the period of which, we have treated in this, and the preceding chapter, we find, in the criminal records of our country, a melancholy display of human nature. Judges and jurors, servilely obedient to the will of arbitrary governors, were abundantly forward to prostitute their powers, at the nod of their superiors, to almost every measure, however cruel, or sanguinary, capricious, or unwarrantable. A late writer * has justly observed that "the want of science, and civil liberty, was the fundamental source of a distribution of law, so repugnant to justice, to humanity, and to policy. Bitter fruits have been produced under the gloomy climate of a tyrannical government, and a superstitious priesthood, *Tyranny* and *superstition*, masked in the solemn garb of law and justice, stride horrible with all their ghastly train of *confiscation, torture, and murder.*"

When we view such subversions of justice, such undue exertions of power, and "*the legal murders*†," with which our criminal registers abound, we are naturally led to contrast these oppressions, with the blessings which we enjoy, under a free government, and in a more enlightened age. While we derive from this contrast ample grounds of consolation, may we learn, and cherish a just detestation of the uncharitable spirit of persecution, which is so dis-

sonant

* Hugo Arnot, Esq.—Preface to his "Criminal Trials."

† Ibid.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE plan of this work being in some respects different from what was first proposed, it will be proper to observe, that it is now intended to consist of two volumes and an appendix.—The first, now published, contains the Ecclesiastical history of Glasgow and the neighbourhood, from the earliest accounts, in times of Paganism as well as under the Christian church, to the Revolution.—The second will comprise the Civil history of the city and neighbourhood; comprehending an account of the rise and progress of the commerce, manufactures, arts and agriculture of this important district of the country. A number of tables, and other interesting particulars, serving to elucidate different parts of the work, will be thrown into an appendix, which will be calculated to be bound up with the first volume, as the second will be sufficiently bulky of itself. At present, however, that cannot properly be printed, on account of references, but it will be given with the second volume.

July, 1795.

